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HISTORY

OF

PLYMOUTH PLANTATION.

BY

WILLIAM BRADFORD,

THE SECOND GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY.

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
1856.

1786314

EDITORIAL PREFACE

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Bradford, William, 1588-1657.

—History of Plymouth plantation. By William Bradford ... Now first printed from the original manuscript, for the Massachusetts historical society. Published at the charge of the Appleton fund. Boston, Little, Brown and company, 1856.

xix, (1), 476 p., 1 l. 25^{cm}.

Covers years 1608-1646.

Ed. by Charles Deane.

SHELF CARD

Reissue of the greater part of v. 3 of the 4th series of Proceedings of the Massachusetts historical society. Bradford's ms., which had been used by Hutchinson, Prince and other early historians of Mass., disappeared at the time of the British evacuation of Boston in 1776. It was discovered in 1835 in the Fulham library of the Bishop of London.

1. Massachusetts—Hist.—Colonial period. 2. Pilgrim fathers. I. Deane, Charles, 1813-1889, ed.

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EDITORIAL PREFACE.

THE History of Plymouth Plantation by William Bradford, the second Governor of the colony, after having remained in manuscript for more than two hundred years, is now given to the public in this present form.

It is evident that Governor Bradford early formed the plan of writing a history of this colony; and this doubtless led to the careful preservation by him of the valuable materials which officially came into his possession previously to the time when the work was commenced. One evidence of this is seen in his Letter-Book, which contained an invaluable collection of letters and other public papers, chronologically arranged, afterwards freely used by him in preparing his History. In a note appended to one of these papers, alluding to the necessitous condition of the colony in 1625 and 1626, he says: "It was God's marvellous providence that we were ever able to wade through things, as will better appear if God give me life and opportunity to handle them more particularly in another treatise more at large, as I desire and purpose, (if God permit,) with many other things, in a better order."

It is well known to all students of our early annals, that Governor Bradford wrote, and left at his decease, a History of this colony; and that this, which was never published, was freely used by Morton in compiling his

Memorial, first published in 1669; and subsequently by Prince and Hutchinson. In the Preface to the first volume of his Annals, 1736, Prince cites, as one of his manuscript authorities, "Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth People and Colony, from 1602 to the end of 1646, in 270 pages, with some account, at the end, of the increase of those who came over with him, from 1620 to 1650, and all in his own handwriting." Governor Hutchinson, in his second volume, first published in 1767, is one of the last, if not the very last, who has made use of this manuscript. From that time nothing, until recently, has been heard of this volume. While in the possession of Prince, who died in 1758, it was deposited in the New England Library, in the tower of the Old South Church, where he kept his choice historical treasures, and where it may have reposed at the time of the siege of Boston, when that church was used for a riding-school by the British soldiers. Among these treasures was Governor Bradford's *Letter-Book*. This was carried to Nova Scotia, and a large portion of it destroyed; but the remainder was rescued from a grocer's shop in Halifax some time afterwards, by James Clark, Esq., a Corresponding Member of this Society, and was printed in the third volume of its Collections. It was supposed that Bradford's History shared the fate of other documents that were at that time destroyed or carried away. It had long been given up as lost.

The late Dr. Young was attracted by a narrative in the handwriting of Secretary Morton, in the Records of the First Church at Plymouth, which, on comparing it with the extracts in Hutchinson and Prince, he recognized as a portion of the History of Governor Bradford. This portion, the most of which had been previously printed by Hazard as a work of Morton, and which comes down only to the year 1620, Dr. Young published in the *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, in 1841.

Thus matters stood until about a year since as regards this long-lost manuscript. On the 17th day of February, 1855, the Rev. John S. Barry, who was at that time engaged in writing the first volume of his History of Massachusetts, since published, called upon me, and stated that he believed he had made an important discovery; it being no less than Governor Bradford's manuscript History. He then took from his pocket a duodecimo volume, entitled "A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford. Second edition. London, 1846," — which a few days before had been lent to him by a friend, — and pointed out certain passages in the text, which any one familiar with them would at once recognize as the language of Bradford, as cited by Morton and Prince; but which the author of the volume, in his foot-notes, referred to a "MS. History of the Plantation of Plymouth, &c., in the Fulham Library." There were other passages in the volume, not recognized as having before been printed, which were referred to the same source. I fully concurred with Mr. Barry in the opinion that this Fulham manuscript could be no other than Bradford's History, either the original or a copy, — the whole or a part; and that measures should at once be taken to cause an examination of it to be made.*

Enjoying the privilege of an occasional correspondence with the Rev. Joseph Hunter, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and a Corresponding Member of our Society, — who has taken a great interest in the early history of the Pilgrims, and has made valuable contributions thereto, — with the concurrence of Mr. Barry, I addressed him a note on the very day above named, calling his attention to the extracts, and the ref-

* Mr. Barry stated to me, at the same time, that he had called the attention of our mutual friend, Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, to these references; and that he concurred in his views respecting them.

erence made by the Bishop of Oxford, and requesting of him the favor to ascertain what this Fulham manuscript was; and, if it proved what we hoped it was, to have a copy taken for publication in the Collections of this Society, the next volume of which would come principally under my charge, as chairman of the Publishing Committee. This note, in which was enclosed an original letter of Governor Bradford, as a means of verification of the manuscript, was sent by the steamer of the 21st of February from New York.

Mr. Hunter immediately responded to the call made upon him, and the result may be seen in the following letters.

TO CHARLES DEANE, ESQ., *Boston.*

30 Torrington Square, March 12, 1855.

DEAR SIR, —

Not having the honor of being acquainted with the Bishop of London, I applied to the Bishop of Oxford immediately on the receipt of your letter, who assured me that he was confident the Bishop of London would allow me to make the examination you had requested, and who very kindly undertook to introduce the subject himself to his Lordship.

This cleared the way, and I addressed a letter to the Bishop of London, explaining to his Lordship what it was that the Massachusetts Historical Society had applied to me to perform for them, (or rather what I was requested to do on behalf of the Society,) namely, to ascertain whether the Fulham manuscript were indeed Bradford's original, in his own handwriting, and, more generally, what is the true nature and character of the manuscript.

To this I received an immediate reply on Friday last, in which the Bishop assures me that every facility shall be afforded me for the examination of the manuscript, and that he will bring it to town when first he goes to

Fulham, and give me notice accordingly. You are probably aware that Fulham is several miles distant from London.*

I thought it right at the same time to apprise his Lordship that the granting this favor might possibly draw on another request, namely, that he would permit an exact copy to be made of it, for the purpose of being introduced among the Transactions of the Society. Should this request be presented to him, it will impose more inconvenience upon the Bishop than the mere inspection and comparison, which I could do in a single morning, unless he should be disposed to intrust the manuscript to my care, when I should find no difficulty, or very little, in having a transcript made of it. If, after the report which I shall make of it, a transcript shall be called for, I think there ought to be a formal application from the Council of the Society, expressing their desire to the Bishop, which I would undertake to present to him.

I shall be in daily expectation of hearing that the manuscript has been brought to London House, though I can easily excuse any delay, conceiving that at this season of the year, when Parliament is sitting and there is so much other public business requiring his attention, the visits of the Bishop to Fulham may not be very frequent.

I am, dear Sir, your very faithful servant,

JOSEPH HUNTER.

TO CHARLES DEANE, ESQ.

30 Torrington Square, March 19, 1855.

DEAR SIR, —

The Bishop of London, with his accustomed prompti-

* The village of Fulham is situated on the banks of the Thames, at a distance of four miles from Hyde-Park Corner. The manor of Fulham belonged to the see of London a considerable time before the Conquest, and has since been in the uninterrupted possession of the Bishops of London, except during the interregnum in the seventeenth century; the manor-house, or palace, being their principal summer residence. The library, Mr. Hunter writes, is a very valuable one. The room is forty-eight feet in length, and contains many of the portraits of the Bishops of London, beginning with Tunstall. See a full and interesting description of Fulham in Lyson's *Environs of London*, 2d ed., ll. 221-276.

tude, brought the manuscript to town in the course of last week, and on Friday I had the opportunity of inspecting it at his Lordship's house in St. James's Square.

But his Lordship added much to this favor, by assuring me that I was at perfect liberty to take it home, and to make whatever extracts from it I pleased, or to copy the whole. So that all difficulties of that kind are removed, and the Society is perfectly at liberty to have a copy made for its use, from which they may print, if they think it expedient to do so.

There is not the slightest doubt that the manuscript is Governor Bradford's own autograph. Not only is there a sufficient degree of correspondence between the handwriting of the manuscript and that of the letter which you transmitted to me, but there is the attestation of one of the family, written in 1705, stating that it was given by the Governor to his son, Major William Bradford, and by him to *his* son, Major John Bradford. There is also, in the handwriting of Prince, a memorandum, dated June 4, 1728, showing how he obtained it from Major John Bradford. It also appears to have been in the New England Library. And finally, the written pages are 270, the number named by Prince, and subsequently by Dr. Young, as the number of pages in the long-lost volume.

It now remains for the Historical Society to determine whether they will have a fair and exact copy made of it. I have spoken to a gentleman who would undertake to do it, and who would execute it in a scholar-like and business-like manner. I cannot undertake to do much myself in the labor of transcribing or correcting, though I should have no objection to giving a little attention and supervision as the work is in progress.

As it seems to be your wish that no time should be lost, and as I should myself be glad to be relieved from the care of so precious a volume, and to restore it to the Bishop's library, it would be well if instructions were

given in your next communication respecting the form in which you would wish the copy to be made; that is, whether with the contractions as used by Bradford, and his own orthography, or reduced to modern orthography, as is done by Dr. Young in the part which he has printed. It would be expedient to copy the original so far as to write on only one side of the leaf, as there are a few additions on some of the opposite pages, and also a few notes in the handwriting of Prince, which it might be well to preserve, distinguishing them, of course, from the work of Bradford.

I return the letter of Governor Bradford in this envelope:

I am, dear Sir, your very faithful servant,

JOSEPH HUNTER.

These letters were received in the early part of April, and, without waiting for any formal action of the Historical Society, which would have caused delay, a reply was immediately made and forwarded by the steamer of the 11th of that month, with directions to have an *exact copy* of the manuscript made as soon as practicable; adequate funds being at once placed at the disposal of Mr. Hunter for that purpose.

The copy of the manuscript was completed on the 10th of July, and it was received at Boston on the 3d of August. A note of Mr. Hunter was received at the same time, under date of July 14th, 1855, in which he says:—

“The transcriber has done his work in a very satisfactory manner, preserving all the peculiarities of Bradford’s writing, and the copy is, I think, as perfect a representation of the original as could well be made. I have perused the copy, turning often to the original when I thought there might be some error, and there has hardly been an instance in which I did not find it exact. There

are cases not a few in which you may think that what Bradford has written is not correctly represented; but you would find, I may venture to say, in all cases, that it is Bradford himself who has not expressed his meaning with sufficient precision. I made the collation with much attention; and in the course of it I added, what I think ought to be preserved, the paging of the original, in which you will perceive some irregularity.

“Everything has been copied except the Hebrew quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures, and a Collection of Hebrew Roots; and you will perceive that everything which is not Bradford’s is distinguished from his; but scarcely any hand has obtruded except Prince’s.

“The volume is a folio of twelve inches by seven and a half. The backs of white parchment, soiled, and in no good condition. There has been some scribbling on the cover, now scarcely legible. It was done by some member of Bradford’s family, before they had allowed the volume to pass out of their hands. In this scribbling the name of Mercy Bradford* is to be traced.

“I inclose a fac-simile of the manuscript in this letter. The verses on Mrs. Bradford are pasted inside the cover.† I shall not return the manuscript immediately, so that if you wish reference to be made to it on any particular point, it can be done.”

The gratification of receiving the copy of this venerable relic was second only to that which would be experienced by a sight of the original. The following memorandum, referred to by Mr. Hunter in his letter of March 19th, is written upon one of the blank leaves at the commencement of the volume.

“This book was rit by goefner William Bradford, and gifen to his son mager William Bradford, and by him to his son mager John Bradford, rit by me Samuel Bradford, Mach 20, 1705.”

* Daughter of Governor Bradford.

† See Appendix, page 460.

The following note by Prince, written upon another leaf, also referred to by Mr. Hunter, will be read with equal interest.

“Tuesday, June 4. 1728.

“N. B. Calling at Major John Bradford's at Kingston near Plimouth, son of Major W^m Bradford formerly Dep Gov^r of Plimouth Colony, who was eldest son of W^m. Bradford, Esq. their 2^d Gov^r & author of this History; — y^e s^d Major John Bradford gave me *several Manuscript Octavoes* w^c He assured me were written with his said Grandfather Gov^r Bradfords own Hand. He also gave me a *little Pencil Book* wrote with a Blew-lead Pencil by his s^d Father y^e Dep Gov^r. And He also told me y^t He had sent & only lent his s^d Grandfather Gov^r Bradford's History of Plimouth Colony wrote by his own Hand also, to Judg Sewall; and desired me to get it of Him or find it out, & take out of it what I think proper for my New England Chronology; w^c I accordingly obtained, and This is y^e s^d History; w^c I find wrote in y^e same Hand-writing as y^e Octavo Manuscripts above s^d.

“THOMAS PRINCE.

“I also mentioned to him my Desire of lodging this History in y^e New England Library of Prints & Manuscripts, w^c I had been then collecting for 23 years, to w^c He signified his willingness — only y^t He might have y^e Perusal of it while he lived.

“T. PRINCE.”

Prince's book-plate, which many of his volumes that belonged to the New England Library contain, is pasted on this leaf.

A few words may be said as to the plan adopt^d in printing this volume. The orthography of the original, as represented by the copy, has been scrupulously preserved. In a few instances, an obvious error of inadvertence has been corrected, but the word as it stood in the manu-

script — unless the change was of too trifling a nature to be thus indicated — has been placed at the bottom of the page. But such slight changes even have rarely been made, as the purpose has been to reproduce a copy of the original, even to the retaining of some apparent slips of the author. The peculiarity of the time as to the use of the letters *u* and *v*, in spelling, was not preserved by the transcriber, and in that regard modern usage has prevailed; Mr. Hunter, when written to respecting it, saying he thought it quite unnecessary to attend scrupulously to these. Occasionally, throughout the manuscript, an alteration was found to have been made in a word after it was first written. For instance, the word *such* is usually written *shuch*, but very frequently a pen has been drawn down through the second letter, reducing it to modern orthography. This is the case with a few other words. In some instances the correction of the spelling of a word is indicated by placing a letter over the word as originally written. Whether these changes were made by the author, or by another ancient hand, I cannot determine without an inspection of the original. In such instances, the word has been printed to conform to the correction. Many passages in the volume are underscored, and it was designed to print such in italics; and this method was proceeded in till, arriving at the middle of the volume, this peculiarity existed to such an extent that it was perceived it would essentially mar the appearance of the book to represent it in type. Some question also existed as to whether the underscoring might not be the work of Prince, some of whose notes refer to these marked passages. The italics were therefore abandoned.

There was a great want of uniformity in the author's punctuation, and also in his use of capitals; and in that regard I have taken the liberty in printing to bring them into conformity with modern usage.

The original manuscript was written on one side only

of the leaf. On the reverse or blank pages Bradford sometimes wrote long passages, some of which were inadvertently omitted by him in the narrative, and afterwards supplied. Others were intended as notes to illustrate the text. The most of Prince's notes, which are not numerous, were written on these reverse pages; and in printing them, his abbreviated words have been spelled out at length, and the orthography generally made to conform to modern usage. And this remark will also apply to the language of all early writers cited in the notes of the editor. The orthography of Bradford in his History is preserved in his notes, as well as in the body of the work. Where a word appears in the text in brackets, it will be understood to have been supplied by the editor, unless otherwise indicated. The paging of the original manuscript has been preserved in brackets throughout the book. The running-title of the volume has been adopted from the only title of Bradford, on the first page, with the addition of the word "History."

In this volume, in the body of the work as well as in the notes, everything is from Bradford's pen, unless otherwise indicated. Prince's notes simply bear his name in italics. The few notes which I have made in the capacity of editor are signed "Ed."

Where references are made to Morton's Memorial, and other early tracts, the first editions are intended, unless other editions are named.

The chronology of this History is in old style, the distinction between which and the present mode of computation is too well known to historical readers to need explanation here.

The very interesting list of passengers of the Mayflower, with an account of their families, which is at the end of the manuscript, is here placed in the Appendix.

In a note of Mr. Hunter, cited above, he says that everything in the volume had been copied, except some

Hebrew quotations, &c. In a previous letter he had stated, that in the same volume with the History, though forming no part of it, "is a rather long piece, being Hebrew Roots, with English explanations"; that it is in the handwriting of Governor Bradford, and shows his attention to these studies. It appears that there are eight pages of these exercises, including extracts from the Hebrew Scriptures, to which Bradford has prefixed the following:—

"Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a longing desire to see, with my owne eyes, somthing of that most ancient language, and holy tongue, in which the Law and oracles of God were write; and in which God, and angels, spake to the holy patriarks of old time; and what names were given to things, from the creation. And though I cañot attaine to much herein, yet I am refreshed to have seen some glimpse hereof (as Moyses saw the land of Canan a farr of). My ayme and desire is, to see how the words and phrases lye in the holy texte; and to discerne somewhat of the same, for my owne contente."

It will be perceived that Morton, in compiling his Memorial, was chiefly indebted to this History for his materials, down to the year 1647. Much of it is a mere abridgment of this; and many passages of great historical interest were wholly omitted by him. Much valuable correspondence that took place just before the embarkation from Holland, and afterwards in England before the Mayflower sailed, was passed over by him in silence. He also omitted the whole history of the connection between the planters and adventurers; and also that portion which narrates so minutely and graphically the struggles which the undertakers subsequently passed through for so many years. Morton copied some portions of this History omitted in the Memorial into the Church Records, beyond even what Dr. Young has published; but it appears not to have been within his plan to embrace

many subjects of the first importance in the history of the colony.

Prince made a judicious use of this volume; but from the limited nature of his work he was necessarily restricted to extracts here and there, more or less brief, on those subjects which to him were of the greatest interest. Besides, the second volume of his *Annals* was abruptly terminated by his death, and comes down only to August, 1633.

Hubbard evidently made use of this volume in preparing his *History of New England*; and from a few passages in Mather's *Magnalia*, it seems certain that he also had seen this work.

In the Appendix to the second volume of his *History of Massachusetts*, Hutchinson gives "a summary of the affairs" of Plymouth colony, taken chiefly from Bradford's manuscript. It was necessarily brief, as his "principal object was the Massachusetts colony"; and this was written because, as he says, "some of my friends of the colony of New Plymouth took it unkindly because I said no more of their affairs in the first part of the *History*."

The opportunities which Governor Bradford enjoyed for writing the history of this colony, were superior, in many respects, to those of any other person. From 1621 to 1657, the year of his death, he had but five years' release from the office of chief magistrate. Although this would seem to afford him little leisure for writing, yet he thereby acquired an entire familiarity with every subject of a public nature in any way connected with the colony. This, taken in connection with the high character which he has always enjoyed, has caused this work to be regarded as of the first authority, and as entitled to take precedence of everything else relating to the history of the Pilgrims.

It will be seen, on page 6, that our author commenced writing this *History* in 1630; and on page 444, it will be

observed that the concluding portion, left evidently unfinished, was written in 1650.

For what is known of the early life of Bradford we are indebted to Cotton Mather; and as some of his statements concerning him have recently received abundant confirmation from the researches of Mr. Hunter, there will be a greater readiness to accept the whole sketch as authentic. Mather may have obtained the most of his information from some writings of Bradford, now lost, or by oral communication with members of the Bradford family; more likely the former. We read in the *Magnalia*, that Bradford was born in "an obscure village called Ansterfield." No such place can be found in any part of England, but through the successful researches of Mr. Hunter it is ascertained that what is printed *Ansterfield* should be *Austerfield*, a village in Yorkshire, a short distance from Scrooby, the residence of Brewster and the location of Robinson's church, in the adjoining county.* Alluding to the suffering witnesses to the truth which sprang up in Yorkshire during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Mather proceeds:—

"Among those devout people was our William Bradford, who was born anno 1588, in an obscure village called Ansterfield,† where the people were as unacquainted with the Bible, as the Jews do seem to have been with part of it in the days of Josiah; a most ignorant and licentious people, and like unto their priest. Here, and in some other places, he had a comfortable inheritance left him of his honest parents, who died while he was yet a child, and cast him on the education, first of his grandparents, and then of his uncles, who devoted him, like his ancestors, unto the affairs of husbandry. Soon and long sickness kept him, as he would afterwards thankfully say, from the vanities of youth, and made him the fitter for

* See page 411 of this volume.

† Austerfield.

what he was afterwards to undergo. When he was about a dozen years old, the reading of the Scriptures began to cause great impressions upon him; and those impressions were much assisted and improved, when he came to enjoy Mr. Richard Clifton's illuminating ministry, not far from his abode; he was then also further befriended, by being brought into the company and fellowship of such as were then called professors; though the young man that brought him into it, did after become a profane and wicked apostate. Nor could the wrath of his uncles, nor the scoff of his neighbors, now turned upon him, as one of the Puritans, divert him from his pious inclinations."

At last he formed a resolution "to withdraw from the communion of the parish-assemblies, and engage with some society of the faithful, that should keep close unto the written word of God, as the rule of their worship"; which he zealously adhered to. In course of time, he, with the church with which he was connected, removed into Holland. Bradford, at that time, was about eighteen years of age. He was one of those imprisoned at Boston, in Lincolnshire; and when, subsequently, he with others succeeded in reaching Zealand, he was arrested, as having fled from England. The magistrates, however, released him on learning the cause of his emigration, and he joined his friends at Amsterdam. While there, he served "a Frenchman at the working of silks." On becoming of age, he converted his estate in England into money, and set up for himself. This, of course, was after the removal to Leyden. He subsequently bore his part in the hazardous enterprise of removing to New England, with a portion of Mr. Robinson's church.

Mr. Hunter says that "Austerfield is an ancient village, consisting then, as it does now, of a few houses inhabited by persons engaged in the occupation of husbandry, and a small chapel of a very early age." On consulting the

Register of that place, Mr. Hunter finds that Bradford was born March 19th, 1589-90. His father's name was William, and his mother's name was Alice Hanson. They were married June 21st, 1584. The father was buried July 15th, 1591, when his son, the future Governor, was but a year and a half old. The grandfather, who also bore the same Christian name, was buried January 10th, 1595-6, when our William was about six years of age; so that he was then probably cast on the care of his uncles, of whom there were two, Thomas and Robert Bradford. For full information concerning the family and some of their contemporaries, see Mr. Hunter's *Founders of New Plymouth*.

Mather thus concludes his notice of our author:—

“He was a person for study as well as action; and hence, notwithstanding the difficulties through which he passed in his youth, he attained unto a notable skill in languages; the Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English; the French tongue he could also manage; the Latin and the Greek he had mastered; but the Hebrew he most of all studied, because, he said, he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty. He was also well skilled in history, in antiquity, and in philosophy; and for theology, he became so versed in it, that he was an irrefragable disputant against the errors, especially those of Anabaptism, which with trouble he saw rising in his colony; wherefore he wrote some significant things for the confutation of those errors. But the crown of all was his holy, prayerful, watchful, and fruitful walk with God, wherein he was very exemplary.

“At length he fell into an indisposition of body, which rendered him unhealthy for a whole winter; and as the spring advanced, his health yet more declined; yet he felt himself not what he counted sick, till one day, in the night after which the God of heaven so filled his mind

with ineffable consolations, that he seemed little short of Paul, rapt up unto the unutterable entertainments of Paradise. The next morning he told his friends, that the good Spirit of God had given him a pledge of his happiness in another world, and the first-fruits of his eternal glory: and on the day following he died, May 9, 1657, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, lamented by all the colonies of New England, as a common blessing and father to them all."

The first wife of Governor Bradford, Dorothy May, was drowned at Cape Cod harbor, December 7th, 1620. On the 14th of August, 1623, he was married again, to Alice, the widow of Edward Southworth. She arrived at Plymouth in the *Anne*, about a fortnight before. There is a tradition that an early attachment existed between this lady and Governor Bradford, which was not favored by her parents. For an account of his children, see Appendix I. of this volume, and Russell's *Guide to Plymouth*, pages 237, 238.

In conclusion, it would be a satisfaction to know by whose agency the original manuscript of this History was transferred from the New England Library in Boston to the Fulham Library in England. There was no faithful Prince to make a record of this. It is uncertain how long the volume has reposed at Fulham. The Bishop of Oxford, in a note to me on this point, writes: "I should suppose for a very long period. I discovered it for myself in searching for original documents for my History of the American Episcopal Church."

CHARLES DEANE.

BOSTON, April 16, 1856.

i. Chapter

It is well knowne unto y^e godly, and iudicious; howe ever since y^e first breaking out of y^e lighte of y^e gospell, in our Honourable nation of England (which was y^e first of nations, whom y^e Lord adorned therewith, after y^e grosse darknesses of popery which had covered, & overspread y^e Christian world) what wars, & oppositions ever since Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the Saints, from time to time, in one sorte, or other. Some times by bloody death & cruell torments: other whiles y^e misgovernments, banishments, & other hard stages. As being to all his kingdom should goe downe, the truth prevail; and y^e churches of god revert to their ancient puritie; and recover, their primitive order, libertie, & benefit.

Of Plimoth Plantation.*

AND first of y^e occasion and indūsments ther unto ; the which that I may truly unfould, I must begine at y^e very roote & rise of y^e same. The which I shall endeavor to manefest in a plaine stile, with singuler regard unto y^e simple trueth in all things, at least as near as my slender judgmente can attaine the same.

1. Chapter.

It is well knowne unto y^e godly and judicious, how ever since y^e first breaking out of y^e lighte of y^e gospell in our Honourable Nation of England, (which was y^e first of nations whom y^e Lord adorned ther with, after y^t grosse darknes of popery which had covered & overspred y^e Christian world,) what warrs & opposissions ever since, Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the Saincts, from time to time, in one sorte or other. Some times by bloody death and cruell torments ; other whiles imprisonments, banishments, & other hard usages ; as being loath his kingdom should goe downe, the trueth prevaile, and y^e churches of God revert to their anciente puritie, and recover their primative order, libertie, & bewtie. But when he could not prevaile by these means,

* No other title to the manuscript. — Ed.

against the maine trueths of y^e gospell, but that they began to take rooting in many places, being watered with y^e blood of y^e martires, and blessed from heaven with a gracious encrease; he then begane to take him to his anciente strategemes, used of old against the first Christians. That when by y^e bloody & barbarous persecutions of y^e Heathen Emperours, he could not stoppe & subuerte the course of y^e gospell, but that it speedily overspred with a wonderfull celeritie the then best known parts of y^e world, he then begane to sow errors, heresies, and wonderfull dissentions amongst y^e professors them selves, (working upon their pride & ambition, with other corrupte passions incident to all mortall men, yea to y^e saints them selves in some measure,) by which wofull effects followed; as not only bitter contentions, & hartburnings, schismes, with other horrible confusions, but Satan tooke occasion & advantage therby to foyst in a number of vile ceremoneys, with many unprofitable canons & decrees, which have since been as snares to many poore & peaceable souls even to this day. So as in y^e anciente times, the persecutions [2] by y^e heathen & their Emperours, was not greater then of the Christians one against other; the Arians & other their complices against y^e orthodoxe & true Christians. As witnesseth Socrates in his 2. booke.* His words are these; *The violence truly (saith he) was no less then that of ould practised towards y^e Christians when they were compelled & drawne to sacrifice to idoles; for many endured sundrie kinds of tormente, often rackings, & dismembering of their joynts; confiscating of ther goods; some bereaved of their native soyle; others departed this life under y^e hands of y^e tormentor; and some died in banishmēte, & never saw ther cuntrie againe, &c.*

The like methode Satan hath seemed to hold in these

* Lib. 2. chap. 22.

later times, since y^e trueth begane to springe & spread after y^e great defection made by Antichrist, y^t man of sīne.

For to let pass y^e infinite examples in sundrie nations and severall places of y^e world, and instance in our owne, when as y^t old serpente could not prevaile by those fire flames & other his cruell tragedies, which he by his instruments put in ure every wher in y^e days of queene Mary & before, he then begane an other kind of warre, & went more closly to worke; not only to oppuggen, but even to ruinate & destroy y^e kingdom of Christ, by more secrete & subtile means, by kindling y^e flames of contention and sowing y^e seeds of discorde & bitter enmitie amongst y^e professors & seeming reformed them selves. For when he could not prevaile by y^e former means against y^e principall doctrins of faith, he bente his force against ye holy discipline & outward regimente of y^e kingdom of Christ, by which those holy doctrines should be conserved, & true pietie maintained amongst the saints & people of God.

Mr. Foxe * recordeth how y^t besids those worthy martires & confessors which were burned in queene Marys days & otherwise tormented, *Many (both studicnts & others) fled out of y^e land, to y^e number of 800. And became severall congregations. At Wesell, Frankford, Bassill, Emden, Markpurge, Strausborough,† & Geneva, &c.* Amongst whom (but especially those at Frankford) begane y^t bitter warr of contention & persecutiō aboute y^e cercemonies, & servise-booke, and other popish and antichristian stuffe, the plague of England to this day, which are like y^e high-plases in Israell, w^{ch} the prophets cried out against, & were their ruine; [3] which y^e better parte sought, according to y^e puritie of y^e gossell, to roote out and utterly to abandon. And the other parte (under veiled pretences)

* Acts & Mon: pag. 1587. editi: 2.

† Marburg, Strasburg. — Ed.

for their owne ends & advancements, sought as stifly to continue, maintaine, & defend. As appeareth by y^e discourse therof published in printe, An^o. 1575; a booke y^e deserves better to be knowne and considred.*

The one side laboured to have y^e right worship of God & discipline of Christ established in y^e church, according to y^e simplicitie of y^e gospell, without the mixture of mens inventions, and to have & to be ruled by y^e laws of Gods word, dispensed in those offices, & by those officers of Pastors, Teachers, & Elders, &c. according to y^e Scriptures. The other partie, though under many colours & pretences, endeavored to have y^e episcopall dignitie (affter y^e popish maⁿer) with their large power & jurisdiction still retained; with all those courts, cannons, & ceremonies, togeather with all such livings, revenues, & subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly upheld their antichristian greatnes, and enabled them with lordly & tyranous power to persecute y^e poore servants of God. This contention was so great, as neither y^e honour of God, the commone persecution, nor y^e mediation of Mr. Calvin & other worthies of y^e Lord in those places, could prevaile with those thus episcopally minded, but they proceeded by all means to disturbe y^e peace of this poor persecuted church, even so farr as to charge (very unjustly, & ungodlily, yet prelate-like) some of their cheefe opposers, with rebellion & hightreason against y^e Emperour, & other such crimes.†

And this cont^etion dyed not with queene Mary, nor was left beyonde y^e seas, but at her death these people returning into England under gracious queene Elizabeth, many of them being preferred to bishopricks & other promotions, according to their aimes and desires, that inveterate hatered against y^e holy discipline of Christ in his church

* This book is entitled, "A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554," &c. It is an esteemed work of original authority, and has been re-

printed in London within a few years. — Ed.

† See Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, II. 309, 310; McCrie's Life of Knox, Period IV. — Ed.

hath continued to this day. In somuch that for fear [4] it should prevcile, all plotts & devices have been used to keepe it out, incensing y^e queene & state against it as dangerous for y^e comon wealth; and that it was most needfull y^t y^e fundamentall poynts of Religion should be preached in those ignorante & superstitious times; and to wiñe y^e weake & ignorante, they might retaine diverse harmles ceremoneis; and though it were to be wished y^t diverse things were reformed, yet this was not a season for it. And many the like, to stop y^e mouthes of y^e more godly, to bring them over to yeeld to one ceremoney after another, and one corruption after another; by these wyles begyleing some & corrupting others till at length they begane to persecute all y^e zealous professors in y^e land (though they knew little what this discipline mente) both by word & deed, if they would not submitte to their ceremonies, & become slaves to them & their popish trash, which have no ground in y^e word of God, but are relikes of y^t man of sine. And the more y^e light of y^e gospell grew, y^e more y^ey urged their subscriptions to these corruptions. So as (notwithstanding all their former pretences & fair colures) they whose eyes God had not justly blinded might easily see wherto these things tended. And to cast contempte the more upon y^e sincere servants of God, they opprobriously & most injuriously gave unto, & imposed upon them, that name of Puritans,* which [it] is said the Novatians out of prid did assume & take unto themselves.† And lamentable it is to see y^e effects which have followed. Religion hath been disgraced, the godly greeved, afflicted, persecuted, and many exiled, sundrie have lost their lives in prisonnes & otherways. On the other hand, sin hath been countenanced, ignorance, profannes, & atheisme increased, & the papists encouraged to hope againe for a day.

* See Prince's Annals, I. 215. — Ed.

† Eus: lib: 6. chap. 42.

This made that holy man Mr. Perkins* crie out in his exhortation to repentance, upon Zeph. 2. *Religion* (saith he) *hath been amongst us this 35. years ; but the more it is published, the more it is contemned & reproached of many, &c. Thus not prophanes nor wickednes, but Religion it selfe is a byword, a mokingstock, & a matter of reproach ; so that in England at this day the man or woman y^e begins to profes Religion, & to serve God, must resolve with him selfe to sustaine [5] mocks & injurieries even as though he lived amongst y^e enimies of Religion. And this comone experience hath confirmed & made too apparente.*

A late observation, as it were by the way, worthy to be Noted.†

Full litle did I thinke, y^t the downfall of y^e Bishops, with their courts, cannons, & ceremonies, &c. had been so neare, when I first begane these scribled writings (which was aboute y^e year 1630, and so peececd up at times of leasure afterward), or that I should have lived to have seene or heard of y^e same ; but it is y^e Lords doing, and ought to be marvelous in our eyes ! Every plante which mine heavenly father hath not planted (saith our Saviour) shall be rooted up. Mat: 15. 13.† I have snared the, and thou art taken, O Babell (Bishops), and thou wast not aware ; thou art found, and also caught, because thou hast striven against the Lord. Jer. 50. 24. But will they needs strive against y^e truth, against y^e servants of God ; what, & against the Lord him selfe ? Doe they provoke the Lord to anger ? Are they stronger than he ? 1. Cor: 10. 22. No, no, they have mete with their match. Behold, I come unto y^e, O proud man, saith the Lord God of hosts ; for thy day is come, even the time that I will visite the. Jer: 50. 31. May not the

* Pag. 421. [William Perkins's "Godly and learned exposition of Christ's Sermon in the Mount," one vol., fol., 1618.—Ed.]

† A note of the author at this place, written subsequent to this portion of the narrative, on the reverse pages of his History, and naturally suggested

by the passing events in England.—Ed.

‡ All these and subsequent passages are quoted from the Geneva version of the Bible, which was held in high estimation by our Puritan fathers.—Ed.

people of God now say (and these poore people among y^e rest), 'The Lord hath brought forth our righteousness; come, let us declare in Sion the work of the Lord our God. Jer: 51. 10. Let all flesh be still before the Lord; for he is raised up out of his holy place. Zach: 2. 13.

In this case, these poore people may say (among y^e thousands of Israll), *When the Lord brought againe the captivite of Zion, we were like them that dreame. Psa: 126. 1. The Lord hath done greate things for us, wherof we rejoyce. v. 3. They that sow in teares, shall reap in joye. They wente weeping, and carried precious seede, but they shall returne with joye, and bring their sheaves. v. 5, 6.*

Doe you not now see y^e fruits of your labours, O all yee servants of y^e Lord that have suffered for his truth, and have been faithfull witnesses of y^e same, and yee litle handfull amongst y^e rest, y^e least amongst y^e thousands of Israll? You have not only had a seede time, but many of you have seene y^e joyefull harvest; should you not then rejoyse, yea, and againe rejoyce, and say Hallelu-iah, salvation, and glorie, and honour, and power, be to y^e Lord our God; for true and righteous are his judgments. Rev. 19. 1, 2.

But thou wilt aske what is y^e mater? What is done? Why, art thou a stranger in Israll, that thou shouldest not know what is done? Are not those Jebusites overcome that have vexed the people of Israll so long, even holding Jerusalem till Davids days, and been as thorns in their sides, so many ages; and now begane to scorne that any David should meadle with them; they begane to fortifie their tower, as that of the old Babelonians; but those proud Anakimes are throwne downe, and their glory laid in y^e dust. The tiranous bishops are ejected, their courts dissolved, their cannons forceless, their service casheired, their ceremonies uselese and despised; their plots for popery prevented, and all their superstitions discarded & returned to Roome from whence they came, and y^e monuments of idolatrie rooted out of y^e land. And the proud and profane supporters, and cruell defenders of these (as bloody papists & wicked athists, and their malignante consorts) marvelously overthrowne. And are not these greate things? Who can deny it?

But who hath done it? Who, even he that sitteth on y^e white horse, who is caled faithfull, & true, and judgeth and

fighteth righteously, Rev: 19. 11. whose garments are dipte in blood, and his name was caled the word of God, v. 13. for he shall rule them with a rode of iron; for it is he that treadeth the winepress of the feircenes and wrath of God almighty. And he hath upon his garmente, and upon his thigh, a name written, The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. v. 15, 16.

Hallelu-iah.

Anno Dom: 1646.

But that I may come more near my intendmente; when as by the travell & diligence of some godly & zealous preachers, & Gods blessing on their labours, as in other places of y^e land, so in y^e North parts, many became in-lightened by y^e word of God, and had their ignorance & sins discovered unto them, and begane by his grace to reforme their lives, and make conscience of their wayes, the worke of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by y^e prophane multitude, and y^e minsters urged with y^e yoak of subscription, or els must be silenced; and y^e poore people were so vexed with apparators, & pursuants, & y^e comis-sarie courts, as truly their affliction was not smale; which, notwithstanding, they bore sundrie years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by y^e continuance & encrease of these troubles, and other means which y^e Lord raised up in those days) to see further into things by the light of y^e word of God. How not only these base and beggerly ceremonies were unlawfull, but also that y^e lordly & tiranous power of y^e prelates ought not to be submitted unto; which thus, contrary to the freedome of the gossell, would load & burden mens consciences, and by their compulsive power make a prophane mixture of persons & things in y^e worship of God. And that their offices & calings, courts & cannons, &c. were unlawfull and antichristian; being such as have no warrante in y^e word of God; but the same y^t were used in poperie, & still retained. Of which a famous author thus writeth

in his Dutch com̄tries.* At y^e coming of king James † into England; *The new king* (saith he) *found their established y^e reformed religion, according to y^e reformed religion of king Edward y^e 6. Retaining, or keeping still y^e spirituell state of y^e Bishops, &c. after y^e ould maner, much varying & differing from y^e reformed churches in Scotland, France, & y^e Neatherlands, Embden, Geneva, &c. whose reformation is cut, or shapen much nerer y^e first Christian churches, as it was used in y^e Apostles times.‡*

[6] So many therfore of these proffessors as saw y^e evill of these things, in thes parts, and whose harts y^e Lord had touched wth heavenly zeale for his trueth, they shooke of this yoake of antichristian bondage, and as y^e Lords free people, joyned them selves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in y^e fellowship of y^e gospell, to walke in all his wayes, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeaours, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something this ensewing historie will declare.

These people became 2. distincte bodys or churches, & in regarde of distance of place did congregate severally; for they were of sundrie townes & vilages, some in Notinghamshire, some of Lincollinshire, and some of Yorkshire, wher they border nearest togeather. In one of these churches (besids others of note) was Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts, & a good preacher, who after-

* Em: Meter: lib: 25. col. 119. [Emanuel Van Meteren, the author of a History of the Low Countries. — Ed.]

† In February, 1604-5, King James, in council, bitterly inveighed against the Puritans, declaring "that the revolt in the Low Countries, which had lasted ever since he was borne, and whereof he never expected to see an end, began first by petition for matters of Religion; and so did all the troubles in Scotland. That his mother and he, from their cradles, had been haunted

with a Puritan Devil, which he feared would not leave him to his grave. And that he would hazard his crowne, but he would suppress those malicious Spirits." — Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lib. V. p. 44. — Ed.

‡ The reformed churches shapen much neerer y^e primitive patterne *then England*, for they cashered y^e Bishops wth al their courts, canons, and ceremonies, at the first; and left them amongst y^e popish tr.. to w^{ch} they pertained.

wards was chosen their pastor.* But these afterwards falling into some errours in y^e Low Countries, ther (for y^e most part) buried them selves, & their names.

But in this other church† (w^{ch} must be y^e subjecte of our discourse) besids other worthy men, was M^r. Richard Clifton, a grave & reverēd preacher, who by his paines and dilligens had done much good, and under God had ben a means of y^e conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man M^r. John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years, till y^e Lord tooke him away by death. Also M^r. William Brewster a reverent man, who afterwards was chosen an elder of y^e church and lived with them till old age.

But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted & persecuted on'every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken & clapt up in prison, others had their houses besett & watcht night and day, & hardly escaped their hands; and y^e most were faine to flie & leave their howses & habitations, and the means of their livelehood. Yet these & many other sharper things which affterward befell them, were no other then they looked for, and therefore were y^e better prepared to bear them by y^e assistance of Gods grace & spirite. Yet seeing them selves thus molested, [7] and that ther was no hope of their continuance ther, by a joynte consente they resolved to goe into y^e Low-Countries, wher they heard was freedome of Religion for all men; as also how sundrie from London, & other parts of y^e land, had been exiled and persecuted for y^e same cause, & were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam, & in other places of y^e land. So affter they had continued together aboute a

* This church was at Gainsborough. See Founders of New Plymouth, 2d ed., p. 89. — Ed.

† Located in the village of Scrooby, Nottinghamshire. See Founders of

New Plymouth, pp. 7, 26, 27, London, 1849. A tract by Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. A. S., invaluable to the student of Pilgrim history. — Ed.

year,* and kept their meetings every Saboth in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all y^e dilligence & malice of their adverssaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in y^t condition, they resolved to get over into Hollād as they could ; which was in y^e year 1607. & 1608. ; of which more at large in y^e next chap.

2. Chap.

Of their departure into Holland and their troubles ther aboute, with some of y^e many difficulties they found and mete withall.

An^o. 1608.

BEING thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their lands & livings, and all their freinds & famillier acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvelous by many. But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay), wher they must learne a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, & subjecte to y^e misseries of warr, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, & a misserie worse then death. Espetially seeing they were not acquainted with trads nor traffique, (by which y^t countrie doth subsiste,) but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, & y^e inocente trade of husbandrey. But these things did not dismay them (though they did some times trouble them) for their desires were sett on y^e ways of God, & to injoye his ordinances ; but they rested on his providence, & knew whom they had belceved. Yet [8] this was not all, for though they could not stay, yet were y^e not suffered to goe, but y^e ports & havens were shut against them, so as they were faine to

* As a "distinct church"? See Morton's Memorial, p. 1; Prince, l. p. 9. The first joining "into a church estate" may have been in 1602. See 4, 5; Founders of New Plymouth, 2d ed., p. 89. — Ed.

seeke secreete means of conveance, & to bribe & fee y^e mariners, & give exterordinarie rates for their passages. And yet were they often times betrayed (many of them), and both they & their goods intercepted & surprised, and therby put to great trouble & charge, of which I will give an instance or tow, & omitte the rest.

Ther was a large companie of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincoln-shire, and for that end had hired a shipe wholly to them selves, & made agreement with the maister to be ready at a certaine day, and take them and their goods in, at a conveniente place, wher they accordingly would all attende in readines. So after long waiting, & large expences, though he kepte not day with them, yet he came at length & tooke them in, in y^e night. But when he had them & their goods aboard, he betrayed them, haveing before hand complotted with y^e serchers & other officers so to doe; who tooke them, and put them into open boats, & ther rifled & ransaked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea even y^e women further then became modestie; and then caried them back into y^e towne, & made them a spectacle & wonder to y^e multitude, which came flocking on all sids to behould them. Being thus first, by the chatchpoule officers, rifled, & stripte of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to y^e magestrates, and messengers sente to informe y^e lords of y^e Counsell of them; and so they were comited to ward. Indeed y^e magestrats used them courteously, and shewed them what favour they could; but could not deliver them, till order came from y^e Counsell-table. But y^e issue was that after a months imprisonment, y^e greatest parte were dismist, & sent to y^e places from whence they came; but 7. of y^e principall* were still kept in prison, and bound over to y^e Assises.†

* Elder Brewster was one of these. See notice of him under the year 1643.
— Ed.

† This first attempt "to get over into Holland," though related under

the year 1608, must be understood as having been made before the close of the preceding year. See concluding part of last chapter. — Ed.

The nexte spring after, ther was another attempte made by some of these & others, to get over at an other place. And it so fell out, that they light of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his owne belonging to Zealand; they made agreemente with him, and acquainted [9] him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfullnes in him, then in y^e former of their owne nation. He bad them not fear, for he would doe well enough. He was by appointment to take them in betweene Grimsbe & Hull, wher was a large comōne a good way distante from any towne. Now aganst the prefixed time, the women & children, with y^e goods, were sent to y^e place in a small barke, which they had hired for y^t end; and y^e men were to meete them by land. But it so fell out, that they were ther a day before y^e shipe came, & y^e sea being rough, and y^e women very sicke, prevailed with y^e seamen to put into a creeke hardby, wher they lay on ground at low-water. The nexte morning y^e shipe came, but they were fast, & could not stir till aboute noone. In y^e mean time, y^e shipe maister, perceiving how y^e matter was, sente his boate to be getting y^e men aboard whom he saw ready, walking aboute y^e shore. But after y^e first boat full was gott aboard, & she was ready to goe for more, the m^r espied a greate company, both horse & foote, with bills, & gunes, & other weapons; for y^e countrie was raised to take them. Y^e Dutch-man seeing y^t, swore his countries oath, "sacramente," and having y^e wind faire, waiged his Ancor, hoysed sayles, & away. But y^e poore men which were gott aboard, were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps; and them selves also, not having a cloath to shifte them with, more then they had on their baks, & some scarce a peney aboute them, all they had being aboard y^e barke. It drew tears from their eyes, and any thing they had they would have given to have been a shore againe; but all in vaine, ther was no remedy, they must thus

sadly part. And afterward endured a fearfull storme at sea, being 14. days or more before y^e arived at their porte, in 7. wherof they neither saw son, moone, nor stars, & were driven near y^e coast of Norway; the mariners them selves often despairing of life; and once with shriks & cries gave over all, as if y^e ship had been foundred in y^e sea, & they sinking without recoverie. But when mans hope & helpe wholly failed, y^e Lords power & mercie appeared in ther recoverie; for y^e ship rose againe, & gave y^e mariners courage againe to manage her. And if modestie woud suffer me, I might declare with what fervente [10] prayres they cried unto y^e Lord in this great distres, (espetially some of them,) even without any great distraction, when y^e water rane into their mouthes & ears; & the mariners cried out, We sinke, we sinke; they cried (if not with mirakelous, yet with a great hight or degree of devine faith), Yet Lord thou canst save, yet Lord thou canst save; with shuch other expressions as I will forbear. Upon which y^e ship did not only recover, but shortly after y^e violence of y^e storme begane to abate, and y^e Lord filed their afflicted minds with shuch comforts as every one cannot understand, and in y^e end brought them to their desired Haven, wher y^e people came flockeing admiring their deliverance, the storme having ben so longe & sore, in which much hurt had been don, as y^e masters freinds related unto him in their congratulations.

But to returne to y^e others wher we left. The rest of y^e men y^t were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before y^e troope could surprise them; those only staying y^t best might, to be assistante unto y^e women. But pitifull it was to see y^e heavie case of these poore women in this distress; what weeping & crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were caried away in y^e ship as is before related; others not knowing what should become of them, & their litle ones; others againe melted in teares, seeing their poore litle ones hanging

aboute them, crying for feare, and quaking with could. Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in y^e ende they knew not what to doe with them; for to imprison so many women & innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must goe with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable and all would crie out of them; and to send them home againe was as difficult, for they aledged, as y^e trueth was, they had no homes to goe to, for they had either sould, or otherwise disposed of their houses & livings. To be shorte, after they had been thus turmoyled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be ridd of them in y^e end upon any termes; for all were wearied & tired with them. Though in y^e mean time they (poore soules) indured miserie enough; and thus in y^e end necessitie forste a way for them.

But y^t I be not tedious in these things, I will omitte y^e rest, though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured & underwente in these their wanderings & travells both at land & sea; but I hast to [11] other things. Yet I may not omitte y^e fruite that came hearby, for by these so publick troubles, in so many eminent places, their cause became famouss, & occasioned many to looke into y^e same; and their godly cariage & Christian behaviour was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts & sharp beginings, (as it was no marvell,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, & greatly animated others. And in y^e end, notwithstanding all these stormes of opposiotion, they all gatt over at length, some at one time & some at an other, and some in one place & some in an other, and mette together againe according to their desires, with no small rejoycing.

The 3. Chap.

Of their settling in Holand, & their maner of living, & entertainmente ther.

BEING now come into y^e Low Countries, they saw many goodly & fortified cities, strongly walled and garded with troopes of armed men. Also they heard a strange & uncouth language, and beheld y^e differente maners & custumes of y^e people, with their strange fashons and attires; all so farre differing from y^t of their plaine countrie villages (wherin they were bred, & had so longe lived) as it seemed they were come into a new world. But these were not y^e things they much looked on, or long tooke up their thoughts; for they had other work in hand, & an other kind of warr to wage & maintaine. For though they saw faire & bewtifull cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of welth & riches, yet it was not longe before they saw the grīme & grisly face of povertie coming upon them like an armed man, with whom they must bukle & incounter, and from whom they could not flye; but they were armed with faith & patience against him, and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foyled, yet by Gods assistance they prevailed and got y^e victorie.

Now when M^r. Robinson, M^r. Brewster, & other principall members were come over, (for they were of y^e last, & stayed to help y^e weakest over before them,) such things were [12] thought on as were necessarie for their settling and best ordering of y^e church affairs. And when they had lived at Amsterdam aboute a year, M^r. Robinson, their pastor, and some others of best discerning, seeing how M^r. John Smith and his companie was allready fallen in to contention with y^e church y^t was ther before them, & no means they could use would doe any good to cure y^e same, and also that y^e flames of contention were like to breake

out in y^t ancient church* it selfe (as affterwards lamentably came to pass); which things they prudently foreseeing, thought it was best to remove, before they were any way engaged with y^e same; though they well knew it would be much to y^e prejudice of their outward estats, both at presente & in licklyhood in y^e future; as indeed it proved to be.

Their remoovall to Leyden.

For these & some other reasons they removed to Leyden, a fair & bewtifull citie, and of a sweete situation, but made more famous by y^e universitie wherwith it is adorned, in which of late had been so many learned men. But wanting that traffike by sea which Amsterdam injoyes, it was not so beneficiall for their outward means of living & estats. But being now hear pitchet they fell to such trades & imployments as they best could; valewing peace & their spirituall comforte above any other riches whatsoever. And at lenght they came to raise a competente & comforteable living, but with hard and continuall labor.

Being thus settled (after many difficulties) they continued many years in a comfortable condition, injoying much sweete & delightfull societie & spirituall comforte together in y^e wayes of God, under y^e able ministrie, and prudente governmente of Mr. John Robinson, & Mr. Wilkam Brewster, who was an assistante unto him in y^e place of an Elder, unto which he was now called & chosen by the church. So as they grew in knowledge & other gifts & graces of y^e spirite of God, & lived together in peace, & love, and holines; and many came unto them from diverse parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time any differences arose, or offences broak [13] out (as it cannot be, but some time ther

* The church of which Johnson and Ainsworth were pastor and teacher. See Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, pp. 24, 445, 448. See also a tract entitled "The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists or Separatists," 1612. — Ed.

will, even amongst y^e best of men) they were ever so mete with, and nipt in y^e head betims, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued; or els y^e church purged of those that were incurable & incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass. Yea such was y^e mutuall love, & reciprocall respecte that this worthy man had to his flocke, and his flocke to him, that it might be said of them as it once was of y^t famous Emperour Marcus Aurelius,* and y^e people of Rome, that it was hard to judge wheather he delighted more in haveing shuch a people, or they in haveing such a pastor. His love was greate towards them, and his care was all ways bente for their best good, both for soule and body; for besids his singuler abilities in devine things (wherin he excelled), he was also very able to give directions in civill affaires, and to foresee dangers & inconveniencies; by w^{ch} means he was very helpfull to their outward estats, & so was every way as a commone father unto them. And none did more offend him then those that were close and cleaving to them selves, and retired from y^e commōe good; as also such as would be stiffe & riged in matters of outward order, and invey against y^e evills of others, and yet be remisse in them selves, and not so carefull to express a vertuous conversation. They in like maner had ever a reverente regard unto him, & had him in precious estimation, as his worth & wisdom did deserve; and though they esteemed him highly whilst he lived & laboured amongst them, yet much more after his death,† when they came to feele y^e wante of his help, and saw (by woefull experience) what a treasure they had lost, to y^e greefe of their harts, and wounding of their sowls; yea such a loss as they saw could not be repaired;

* Goulden booke, &c. [The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius was first printed in English in 1534. See Dibdin's Typog. Antiq., III. 289. — Ed.]

† Mr. Robinson died at Leyden, March 1st, 1624-5. See notice of his death under the year 1626. — Ed.

for it was as hard for them to find such another leader and feeder in all respects, as for y^e Taborits to find another Ziska.* And though they did not call themselves orphans, as the other did, after his death, yet they had cause as much to lamente, in another regard, their present condition, and after usage. But to returne; I know not but it may be spoken to y^e honour of God, & without prejudice [14] to any, that such was y^e true pietie, y^e humble zeale, & fervent love, of this people (whilst they thus lived together) towards God and his waies, and y^e single hartednes & sinceir affection one towards another, that they came as near y^e primative patterne of y^e first churches, as any other church of these later times have done, according to their ranke & qualitie.

But seeing it is not my porpose to treat of y^e severall passages that befell this people whilst they thus lived in y^e Low Countries, (which might worthily require a large treatise of it selfe,) but to make way to shew y^e beginning of this plantation, which is that I aime at; yet because some of their adversaries did, upon y^e rumore of their removall, cast out slanders against them, as if that state had been wearie of them, & had rather driven them out (as y^e heathen historians did faine of Moyses & y^e Isralits when they went out of Egipte),† then y^t it was their owne free choyse & motion, I will therfore mention a particuler or too to shew y^e contrary, and y^e good acceptation they had in y^e place wher they lived. And first though many of them weer poore, yet ther was none so poore, but if they were known to be of y^t congregation, the *Dutch* (either bakers or others) would trust them in any reasonable matter when y^{ey} wanted money. Because they had found by experience how carfull they were to keep their

* For an account of John Ziska (or Zisca), the Hussite, the blind general and leader of the Bohemian insurgents, who was never defeated, see Mosheim's Eccles. Hist., Cent. XV.; Hallam's

Middle Ages, I. 463; and Encyclopædia Americana. — Ed.

† See Works of Tacitus, Oxford translation, Book V. of the History. — Ed.

word, and saw them so painfull & dilligente in their callings; yea, they would strive to gett their custome, and to imploy them above others, in their worke, for their honestie & diligence.

Againe; y^e magistrats of y^e citie, aboute y^e time of their coming away, or a litle before, in y^e publick place of justice, gave this comendable testemoney of them, in y^e reproofe of the Wallons,* who were of y^e French church in y^e citie. These English, said they, have lived amongst us now this 12. years, and yet we never had any sute or accusation came against any of them; but your strifs & quarrels are continuall, &c. In these times allso were y^e great troubls raised by y^e Arminians, who, as they greatly mollested y^e whole state, so this citie in particuler, in which was y^e cheefe universitie; so as ther were dayly & hote disputs in y^e schooles ther aboute; and as y^e studients & other lerned were devided in their oppinions hearin, so were y^e 2. proffessors or devinitie readers them selves; the one daly teaching for it, y^e other against it. Which grew to that pass, that few of the discipls of y^e one would hear y^e other teach. But M^r. Robinson, though he taught thrise a weeke him selfe, & write sundrie books,† besids his manyfould pains otherwise, yet he went constantly [15] to hear ther readings, and heard y^e one as well as y^e other; by which means he was so well grounded in y^e controversie, and saw y^e force of all their arguments, and knew y^e shifts of y^e adversarie, and being him selfe very

* The Walloons inhabited the southern Belgie provinces bordering on France, and, speaking the old French language, "they were termed *Gallois*, which was changed, in Low Dutch, into *Walsche*, and in English into Walloon." Many of them were Protestants, and, being subject to an unrelenting persecution by the Spanish government, emigrated in great numbers into Holland, carrying with them a knowledge of the industrial arts. The

wife of Francis Cooke, who came in the Mayflower, was a Walloon. See Brodhead's New York, pp. 146, 147, and Winslow in Young, p. 394. — Ed.

† A collection of the "Works of John Robinson" was printed in London in 1851, with a memoir and annotations by Robert Ashton. One scarce tract, not in that collection, is printed in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I. of the 4th Series. — Ed.

able, none was fitter to buckle with them then him selfe, as appered by sundrie disputs; so as he begane to be terrible to y^e Arminians; which made Episcopus (y^e Arminian professor) to put forth his best stringth, and set forth sundrie Theses, which by publick dispute he would defend against all men. Now Poliander y^e other proffessor, and y^e cheefe preachers of y^e citie, desired M^r. Robinson to dispute against him; but he was loath, being a stranger; yet the other did importune him, and tould him y^t such was y^e abilitie and nimblnes of y^e adversarie, that y^e truth would suffer if he did not help them. So as he condesended, & prepared him selfe against the time; and when y^e day came, the Lord did so help him to defend y^e truth & foyle this adversarie, as he put him to an apparent non-plus, in this great & publike audience. And y^e like he did a 2. or 3. time, upon such like occasions. The which as it caused many to praise God y^t the trueth had so famous victory, so it procured him much honour & respecte from those lerned men & others which loved y^e trueth.* Yea, so farr were they from being weary of him & his people, or desiring their absence, as it was said by some, of no mean note, that were it not for giving offence to y^e state of England, they would have preferd him otherwise if he would, and alowd them some publike favour. Yea when ther was speech of their remoovall into these parts, sundrie of note & eminencie of y^t nation would have had them come under them, and for y^t end made them large offers.† Now though I might aledg many other perticulers & examples of y^e like kinde, to shew y^e untruth & unlicklyhode of this slander, yet these shall suffice, seeing it was beleevd of few, being only raised by y^e malice of some, who laboured their disgrace.

* See also Winslow in Young, p. 392. — Ed.

† See Winslow in Young, p. 385,

and Brodhead's Hist. of New York, pp. 123 - 126; also comp. Barry's Hist. Mass., pp. 73, 74. — Ed.

The 4. Chap.

Showing y^e reasons & causes of their remoovall.

AFTER they had lived in this citie about some 11. or 12. years, (which is y^e more observable being y^e whole time of y^t famose truce between that state & y^e Spaniards,*) and sundrie of them were taken away by death, & many others begane to be well stricken in years, the grave mistris Experience haveing taught them many things, [16] those prudent governours with sundrie of y^e sagest members begane both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, & wisely to foresee y^e future, & thinke of timly remedy. In y^e agitation of their thoughts, and much discours of things hear aboute, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of remoovall to some other place. Not out of any newfanglednes, or other such like giddie humor, by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt & danger, but for sundrie weightie & solid reasons; some of y^e cheefe of which I will hear breefly touch. And first, they saw & found by experience the hardnes of y^e place & cuntry to be such, as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out, and continew with them. For many y^t came to them, and many more y^t desired to be with them, could not endure y^t great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent & were contented with. But though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honoured their sufferings, yet they left them as it weer weeping, as Orpah did her mother in law Naomie, or as those Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused & borne with, though they could not all be Catoes.† For many, though they

* This "famous truce," so long desired, embraced a period of twelve years, ending in 1621. It was signed on the 9th of April, 1609. See Grattan's

Hist. of the Netherlands, p. 227. — Ed.

† See Plutarch's Life of Cato the Younger. — Ed.

desired to injoye y^e ordinances of God in their puritie, and y^e libertie of the gospell with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather then to indure these hardships; yea, some preferred & chose y^e prisons in England, rather then this libertie in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and casier place of living could be had, it would draw many, & take away these discouragements. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those w^o both wrate & preached now against them, if they were in a place wher they might have libertie and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did.

2^y. They saw that though y^e people generally bore all these difficulties very cherfully, & with a resolute courage, being in y^e best & strength of their years, yet old age began to steale on many of them, (and their great & continuall labours, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before y^e time,) so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them, or sinke under their burdens, or both. And therfore according to y^e devine proverb, y^t a wise man seeth y^e plague when it cometh, & hideth him selfe, Pro. 22. 3., so they like skillfull & beaten souldiers were fearfull either to be intrapped or surrounded by their enimies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flie; and therfor thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage & less danger, if any such could be found. [16]* Thirdly; as necessitie was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants, but in a sorte, to their dearest children; the which as it did not a litle wound y^e tender harts of many a loving father & mother, so it produced likewise sundrie sad & sorowful effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having

* Number 16 is repeated in the paging of the original. — Ed.

lernde to bear y^e yoake in their youth, and willing to bear parte of their parents burden, were, often times, so oppressed with their hevie labours, that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under y^e weight of y^e same, and became decreped in their early youth; the vigor of nature being consumed in y^e very budd as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorowes most hevie to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and y^e great licentiousnes of youth in y^t countrie, and y^e manifold temptations of the place, were drawne away by evill examples into extravagante & dangerous courses; getting y^e raines off their neks, & departing from their parents. Some became souldiers, others tooke upon them farr viages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissolutnes & the danger of their soules, to y^e great greefe of their parents and dishonour of God. So that they saw their posteritie would be in danger to degenerate & be corrupted.

Lastly, (and which was not least,) a great hope & inward zeall they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way therunto, for y^e propagating & advancing y^e gospell of y^e kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of y^e world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for y^e performing of so great a work.

These, & some other like reasons,* moved them to undertake this resolution of their removall; the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties, as by the sequell will appeare.

The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast & unpeopled countries of America, which are frutfull & fitt for habitation, being devoyd of all civill inhabitants, wher ther are only salvage & brutish men, which range up and downe, litle otherwise then y^e wild beasts of the

* See Winslow in Young, p. 385, for additional reasons. — Ed.

same. This proposition being made publike and coming to y^e scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears & doubts amongst them selves. Some, from their reasons & hops conceived, laboured to stirr up & incourage the rest to undertake & prosecute y^e same; others, againe, out of their fears, objected against it, & sought to diverte from it, alleding many things, and those neither unreasonable nor unprobable; as that it was a great designe, and subjecte to many unconceivable perills & dangers; as, besides the casulties of y^e seas (which none can be freed from) the length of y^e vioage was such, as y^e weake bodys of women and other persons worne out with age & traville (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of y^e land which they should be [17] exposed unto, would be to hard to be borne; and lickly, some or all of them together, to consume & utterly to ruinate them. For ther they should be liable to famine, and nakednes, & y^e wante, in a maner, of all things. The chang of aire, diate, & drinking of water, would infecte their bodies with sore sicknesses, and greevous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yett be in continuall danger of y^e salvage people, who are cruell, barbarous, & most trecherous, being most furious in their rage, and merciles wher they overcome; not being contente only to kill, & take away life, but delight to tormente men in y^e most bloodie mañer that may be; fleaing some alive with y^e shells of fishes, cutting of y^e members & joynts of others by peesmeale, and broiling on y^e coles, eate y^e collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live; with other cruelties horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but y^e very hearing of these things could not but move y^e very bowels of men to grate within them, and make y^e weake to quake & tremble. It was further objected, that it would require greater sumes of money to

furnish such a voyage, and to fitt them with necessaries, then their consumed estats would amounte too; and yett they must as well looke to be seconded with supplies, as presently to be trāsported. Also many présidents of ill success, & lamentable misseries befalne others in the like designes, were easie to be found, and not forgotten to be aledged; besides their owne experience, in their former troubles & hardships in their removall into Holand, and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, though it was a neighbour countrie, & a civill and rich comone wealth.

It was answered, that all great & honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted y^e dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though their were many of them likly, yet they were not cartaine; it might be sundrie of y^e things feared might never befale; others by providente care & y^e use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through y^e help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne, or overcome. True it was, that such atempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground & reason; not rashly or lightly as many have done for curiositie or hope of gaine, &c. But their condition was not ordinarie; their ends were good & honourable; their calling lawfull, & urgente; and therfore they might expecte y^e blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should loose their lives in this action, yet might they have comforte in the same, and their endeavors would be honourable. They lived hear but as men in exile, & in a poore condition; and as great miseries might possibly befale them in this place, for y^e 12. years of truce were now out, & ther was nothing but beating of drumes, and preparing for warr, the events wherof are allway uncertaine. Y^e Spaniard might prove as cruell as [18] the

salvages of America, and y^e famine and pestelence as sore hear as ther, & their libertie less to looke out for remedie. After many other perticuler things answered & aledged on both sids, it was fully concluded by y^e major parte, to put this designe in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

The 5. Chap.

Shewing what means they used for preparation to this waightie vioag.

AND first after thir humble praiers unto God for his direction & assistance, & a generall conference held hear aboute, they consulted what perticuler place to pitch upon, & prepare for. Some (& none of y^e meanest) had thoughts & were earnest for Guiana, or some of those fertill places in those hott climats; others were for some parts of Virginia, wher y^e English had all ready made enterance, & begining. Those for Guiana* aledged y^t the cuntrie was rich, fruitfull, & blessed with a perpetuall spring, and a flourishing greenes; where vigorous nature brought forth all things in abundance & plentie without any great labour or art of man. So as it must needs make y^e inhabitants rich, seing less provisions of clothing and other things would serve, then in more coulder & less frutfull countries must be had. As also y^t the Spaniards (having much more then they could possess) had not yet planted there, nor any where very near y^e same. But to this it was answered, that out of question y^e cuntrie was both frutfull and pleasante, and might yeeld riches & maintenance to y^e possessors, more easily then y^e other;

* The latest account of Guiana which had been published at that time was by Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, *Esquire*, who made a voyage thither in 1609, and published the results of it in 1613 and 1614, in a work entitled "A Relation of a Voyage to

Guiana," &c. He had a patent from King James for a plantation there, and issued proposals to adventurers and planters in the Appendix to his tract. See also Howes's continuation of Stow's Annals, ed. 1615, p. 943. — Ed.

yet, other things considered, it would not be so fitt for them. . And first, y^t such hott countries are subject to greenvuos diseases, and many noysome impediments, which other more temperate places are freer from, and would not so well agree with our English bodys. Againe, if they should ther live, & doe well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long, but would displante or overthrow them, as he did y^e French in Florida,* who were seated further from his richest countries; and the sooner because they should have none to protect them, & their owne strength would be too smale to resiste so potent an enemy, & so neare a neighbor.

On y^e other hand, for Virginia it was objected, that if they lived among y^e English w^{ch} wear ther planted, or so near them as to be under their goverment, they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for the cause of religion, as if they lived in England, and it might be worse. And if they lived too farr of, they should neither have succour, nor defence from them.

But at length y^e conclusion was, to live as a distincte body by them selves, under y^e generall Government of Virginia;† and by their freinds to sue to his majestie that he would be pleased to grant them freedome of Religion; and y^t this might be obtained, they wear putt in good

* In 1565. See Bancroft, I. 68. — Ed.

† “The Virginia Company was established in 1606. On the 10th of April of that year, King James, by letters patent, divided a strip of land, of 100 miles wide, along the Atlantic coast of North America, extending from the 34th to the 45th degree of north latitude, — a territory which then went under the common name of Virginia, — between two companies, who were to colonize it. The First or Southern Colony was granted to certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and adventurers of London, who were to colonize between the 34th and 41st degrees. The Second or Northern Colony was granted to persons of like description in Bristol, Exeter, and

Plymouth, who were to plant between the 38th and the 45th degrees. Each Company was to be under the government of a council of thirteen, and neither of them was to plant within a hundred miles of a previous settlement made by the other. The Second or Plymouth Company made the unsuccessful attempt, in 1607, to establish a colony near the mouth of the Kennebec. The First or London Company was the one to which the agents of the Pilgrims applied, and which seems at this time to have appropriated to itself exclusively the title of the Virginia Company.” Young, in Chron. Pilgr., p. 54. See also Prince, I. 17, and Stith's Virginia, Appendix. — Ed.

hope by some great persons, of good ranke & qualitie, that were made their freinds. Whereupon 2.* were chosen [19] & sent in to England (at y^e charge of y^e rest) to sollicite this matter, who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them goe thither, and willing to grante them a patent, with as ample priviliges as they had, or could grant to any, and to give them the best furderance they could. And some of y^e cheefe of y^e company doubted not to obtaine their suite of y^e king for liberty in Religion, and to have it confirmed under y^e kings broad seale, according to their desires. But it proved a harder peece of worke then they tooke it for; for though many means were used to bring it aboute, yet it could not be effected; for ther were diverse of good worth laboured with the king to obtaine it, (amongst whom was one of his cheefe secretaries,†) and some other wrought with y^e archbishop to give way therunto; but it proved all in vaine. Yet thus farr they prevailed, in sounding his majesties mind, that he would connive at them, & not molest them, provided they carried them selves peacably. But to allow or tolerate them by his publick authoritie, under his seale, they found it would not be. And this was all the cheefe of y^e Virginia companie or any other of their best freinds could doe in y^e case. Yet they perswaded them to goe on, for they presumed they should not be troubled. And with this answer y^e messengers returned, and signified what diligence had bene used, and to what issue things were come.

But this made a dampe in y^e busines, and caused some distraction, for many were afraid that if they should unsettle them selves, & put of their estates, and goe upon these hopes, it might prove dangerous, and prove but a sandie

* From the letter of Sir Edwin Sandys, on pages 30, 31, it appears that this was in the autumn of 1617, and that the two agents were Robert Cushman and John Carver. — Ed.

† Sr. Robert Nanton. [Sir Robert Naunton was sworn Secretary of State, January 8, 1618. See Memoir prefixed to *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1824. See also Winslow in Young, p. 382. — Ed.]

foundation. Yea, it was thought they might better have presumed hear upon without making any suite at all, then, having made it, to be thus rejected. But some of y^e cheefest thought other wise, and y^t they might well proceede hereupon, & that y^e kings majestie was willing enough to suffer them without molestation, though for other reasons he would not confirme it by any publick acte. And furdernore, if ther was no securitie in this promise intimated, ther would be no great certainty in a furdur confirmation of y^e same; for if after wards ther should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seale as broad as y^e house flore, it would not serve y^e turne; for ther would be means enew found to recall or reverse it. Seeing therfore the course was probable, they must rest hercin on Gods providence, as they had done in other things.

Upon this resolution, other messengers* were dispatched, to end with y^e Virginia Company as well as they could. And to procure [20] a patent with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means obtaine. As also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other freinds as had manifested their forwardnes to provoke too and adventure in this vioage. For which end they had instructions given them upon what conditions they should proceed with them, or els to conclude nothing without further advice. And here it will be requisite to inserte a letter or too that may give light to these proceedings.

A coppie of leter from Sr: Edwin Sands, directed to Mr. John Robinson & Mr. William Brewster.

After my hartie salutations. The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman & John Carver, have been in communication with diverse selecte gentlemen of his Majesties Counsell for Virginia; and by y^e writing of 7. Articles subscribed with

* Cushman and Brewster. See pages 31 and 36-38. — Ed.

your names, have given them y^t good degree of satisfaction, which hath caried them on with a resolution to sett forward your desire in y^e best sorte y^t may be, for your owne & the publick good. Divers perticulers wherof we leave to their faithfull reporte; having carried them selves heere with that good discretion, as is both to their owne and their credite from whence they came. And wheras being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to conferr with them that are to be interested in this action, aboute y^e severall particularities which in y^e prosecution therof will fall out considerable, it hath been very willingly assented too. And so they doe now returne unto you.* If therefore it may please God so to directe your desires as that on your parts ther fall out no just impediments, I trust by y^e same direction it shall likewise appear, that on our parte, all forwardnes to set you forward shall be found in y^e best sorte which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this designe (w^{ch} I hope verily is y^e worke of God), to the gracious protection and blessing of y^e Highest.

London, Nov^r: 12.

Your very loving freind

An^o: 1617.

EDWIN SANDYS.†

Their answer was as foloweth.

Righte Wor^{sh}:

Our humble duties remembred, in our owne, our messengers, and our churches name, with all thankfull acknowledgments of your singuler love, expressing [21] itselfe, as otherwise, so more spetially in your great care and earnest endeavor of our

* If both these agents returned to Leyden at this time, it would appear from the following letter of Robinson and Brewster, that Carver was sent back again the next month (December), to continue the negotiations with the Council of Virginia; having a "gentleman of their company" associated with him in the agency. The time of his return from this *second* visit is not given. Subsequently, Cushman and Brewster were sent over, and were doubtless the messengers alluded to by Bradford on page 30, who "were dispatched to end with the Virginia Company." The time of their arrival in London or return to Leyden is uncertain, but it is certain that they had been in England for some time at the

date of Cushman's letter (May 8, 1619) on pages 36-38. Young (page 468) thinks it probable that Brewster, whose apprehension was sought for by the authorities at Leyden at the instigation of the English court, did not return there, but kept close till the Mayflower sailed. Prince, citing this History for the above transactions, appears to place the arrival and departure of these last messengers under specific dates, for which there is certainly no authority here. — Ed.

† For a notice of Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the principal members of the Virginia Company, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, II. 472, and especially Hunter's tract on the *Founders of New Plymouth*, pp. 36-38 (ed. 1849). — Ed.

good in this weightie bussines aboute Virginia, which y^e less able we are to requite, we shall thinke our selves the more bound to comend in our prayers unto God for recompence; whom, as for y^e presente you rightly behould in our indeavors, so shall we not be wanting on our parts (the same God assisting us) to returne all answerable fruite, and respecte unto y^e labour of your love bestowed upon us. We have with y^e best speed and consideration withall that we could, sett downe our requests in writing, subscribed, as you willed, wth the hands of y^e greatest parte of our congregation, and have sente y^e same unto y^e Counsell by our agente, & a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adyone him selfe; to the care & discretion of which two, we doe referr y^e prosecuting of y^e bussines. Now we perswade our selves Right Wor^{sh}: that we need not provoke your godly & loving minde to any further or more tender care of us, since you have pleased so farr to interest us in your selfe, that, under God, above all persons and things in the world, we relye upon you, expecting the care of your love, counsell of your wisdom, & the help & countenance of your authority. Notwithstanding, for your encouragmente in y^e worke, so farr as probabilities may leade, we will not forbear to mention these instances of indusmente.

1. We verily beleeve & trust y^e Lord is with us, unto whom & whose service we have given our selves in many trialls; and that he will graciously prosper our indeavours according to y^e simplicitie of our harts therein.

2^{ly}. We are well weaned from y^e delicate milke of our mother countrie, and enured to y^e difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet in a great parte we have by patience overcome.

3^{ly}. The people are for the body of them, industrious, & frugal, we thinke we may safly say, as any company of people in the world.

4^{ly}. We are knite together as a body in a most stricte & sacred bond* and covenante of the Lord, of the violation wherof

* NOTE. — O sacred bond, whilst inviolably preserved! how sweete and precious were the fruits that flowed from y^e same, but when this fidelity decayed, then their ruine approached. O that these ancient members had not

dyed, or been dissipated, (if it had been the will of God) or els that this holy care and constante faithfullnes had still lived, and remained with those that survived, and were in times afterwards added unto them. But (alass) that sub-

we make great conscience, and by vertue wherof we doe hould our selves straitly tied to all care of each others good, and of y^e whole by every one and so mutually.

5. Lastly, it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish them selves at home againe. We knowe our entertainments in England, and in Holand; we shall much prejudice both our arts & means by removall; who, if we should be driven to returne, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed looke ever, for our selves, to attaine unto y^e like in any other place during our lives, w^{ch} are now drawing towards their periods.

[22] These motives we have been bould to tender unto you, which you in your wisdome may also imparte to any other our wor^{pp}: freinds of y^e Counsell with you; of all whose godly disposition and loving towards our despised persons, we are most glad, and shall not faile by all good means to continue & increase y^e same. We will not be further troublesome, but doe, with y^e renewed remembrance of our humble duties to your Wor^{pp}: and (so farr as in modestie we may be bould) to any other of our wellwillers of the Counsell with you, we take our leaves, comitting your persons and counsels to y^e guidance and direction of the Almighty.

Leyden, Desem: 15.

An^o: 1617.

Yours much bounden in all duty,

JOHN ROBINSON,

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

For further light in these proceedings see some other letters & notes as followeth.

*The copy of a letter sent to S^r. John Worssenham.**

Right Wor^{pp}l: with due acknowledgments of our thankfulness for your singular care & pains in the bussines of Virginia,

till serpente hath slylie wound in himselfe under faire pretences of necessitie and y^e like, to untwiste these sacred bonds and tyes, and as it were insensibly by degrees to dissolve, or in a great measure to weaken, y^e same. I have been happy, in my first times, to see, and with much comforte to injoye, the blessed fruits of this sweete communion, but it is now a parte of my miserie in old age, to find and feele y^e decay and

wante therof (in a great measure), and with greefe and sorrow of hart to lament & bewaile y^e same. And for others warning and admonition, and my owne humiliation, doe I hear note y^e same.

[The above reflections of the author were penned at a later period, on the reverse pages of his History, at this place. — Ed.]

* Sir John Wolstenholme, one of the

for our, &, we hope, the com̄one good, we doe remember our humble dutys unto you, and have sent inclosed, as is required, a further explanation of our judgments in the 3. points specified by some of his majesties Hon^{bl} Privie Counsell; and though it be greevius unto us that such unjust insinuations are made against us, yet we are most glad of y^e occasion of making our just purgation unto so honourable personages. The declarations we have sent inclosed, the one more breefe & generall, which we thinke y^e fitter to be presented; the other something more large, and in which we express some smale accidentall differences, which if it seeme good unto you and other of our wor^{pl} freinds, you may send in stead of y^e former. Our prayers unto God is, y^t your Wor^{pp} may see the frute of your worthy endeaours, which on our parts we shall not faile to further by all good means in us. And so praing y^t you would please with y^e convenientest speed y^t may be, to give us knowledge of y^e success of y^e bussines with his majesties Privie Counsell, and accordingly what your further pleasure is, either for our direction or furtherance in y^e same, so we rest

Leyden, Jan: 27.

An^o: 1617. old stile.*

Your Wor^{pp} in all duty,

JOHN ROBINSON,

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

The first breefe note was this.

Touching y^e Ecclesiasticall ministrie, namly of pastores for teaching, elders for ruling, & deacons for distributing y^e churches contribution, as also for y^e too Sacrements, baptisme, and y^e Lords supper, we doe wholly and in all points agree [23] with y^e French reformed churches, according to their publick confession of faith.

The oath of Supremacie we shall willingly take if it be required of us, and that conveniente satisfaction be not given by our taking y^e oath of Alleageance.

JOHN ROB:

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

Y^e 2. was this.

Touching y^e Ecclesiasticall ministrie, &c. as in y^e former, we agree in all things with the French reformed churches, accord-

principal members of the Virginia Company. Stith, p. 163. — Ed.

* That is, 1618, new style. — Ed.

ing to their publick confession of faith; though some small differences be to be found in our practises, not at all in y^e substance of the things, but only in some accidentall circumstances.

1. As first, their ministers doe pray with their heads covered; ours uncovered.

2. We chose none for Governing Elders but such as are able to teach; which abilitie they doe not require.

3. Their elders & deacons are anuall, or at most for 2. or 3. years; ours perpetuall.

4. Our elders doe administer their office in admonitions & excommunications for publick scandals, publicly & before y^e congregation; theirs more privately, & in their consistories.

5. We doe administer baptisme only to such infants as wherof y^e one parente, at y^e least, is of some church, which some of ther churches doe not observe; though in it our practice accords with their publick confession and y^e judgmente of y^e most larned amongst them.

Other differences, worthy mentioning, we know none in these points. Then aboute y^e oath, as in y^e former.

Subscribed,

JOHN R.
W. B.

Part of another letter from him that delivered these.

London. Feb: 14.

1617.*

Your letter to St. John Worstenholme I delivered allmost as soone as I had it, to his owne hands, and staid with him y^e opening & reading. Ther were 2. papers inclosed, he read them to him selfe, as also y^e letter, and in y^e reading he spake to me & said, Who shall make them? viz. y^e ministers; I answered his Wor^{sh} that y^e power of making was in y^e church, to be ordained by y^e imposition of hands, by y^e fittest instruments they had. It must either be in y^e church or from y^e pope, & y^e pope is Antichrist. Ho! said St. John, what y^e pope houlds good, (as in y^e Trinitie,) that we doe well to assente too; but, said he, we will not enter into dispute now. And as for your letters he would not show them at any hand, least he should spoyle all. He expected you should have been of y^e archb^p minde for y^e calling of ministers, but it seems you differed. I could have

* That is, 1618, new style. — Ed.

wished to have known y^e contents of your tow inclosed, at w^{ch} he stuck so much, espetially y^e larger. I asked his Wor^p what good news he had for me to write to morrow. He tould me very good news, for both the kings majestie and y^e bishops have consented. He said he would goe to Mr. Chancelor, S^r. Fulk Grivell, as this day, & nexte weeke I should know more. I mett S^r. Edw: Sands on Wedensday night; he wished me to be at the Virginia Courte y^e nexte Wedensday, wher I purpose to be. Thus loath to be troublsome at present, I hope to have somewhate nexte week of certentie concerning you. I comitte you to y^e Lord. Yours,

S. B.*

[24] These things being long in agitation, & messengers passing too and againe aboute them, after all their hopes they were long delayed by many rubs that fell in y^e way; for at y^e returne of these messengers into England they found things farr otherwise then they expected. For y^e Virginia Counsell was now so disturbed with factions and quarrels amongst them selves, as no bussines could well goe forward. The which may the better appear in one of ye messengers letters as followeth.

To his loving freinds, &c.

I had thought long since to have write unto you, but could not effecte y^t which I aimed at, neither can yet sett things as I wished; yet, notwithstanding, I doubt not but Mr. B. hath written to Mr. Robinson. But I thinke my selfe bound also to doe something, least I be thought to neglecte you. The maine hinderance of our proseedings in y^e Virginia bussines, is y^e dissentions and factions, as they terme it, amongs y^e Counsell & Company of Virginia; which are such, as that ever since we came up no

* In Gov^r. Bradford's *Collection of Letters*, this letter is more large, & subscribed *Sabine Stareshmore*. — *Prince*.

Prince, in his *Annals*, I. 53, cites a portion of this letter from "S. B.," but without any remarks there as to the name of the writer. A letter of Sabin Stareshmore will be seen on pages 39, 40, dated from Wood Street Compter, a prison in London. A Mr. Stareshmore

(or Staishmore), possibly the same person, was one of the associates of Henry Jacob, and subsequently appears to have been a member of Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden, from which, in 1624, he had been dismissed to the church at Amsterdam. See Neal's *Puritans*, I. 462, and Hanbury's *Hist. Memorials*, I. 292, 449, 450. — Ed.

busines could by them be dispatched. The occasion of this trouble amongst them is, for that a while since St. Thomas Smith,* repining at his many offices & troubles, wished y^e Company of Virginia to ease him of his office in being Treasurer & Gover^r. of y^e Virginia Company. Wereupon y^e Company tooke occasion to dismisse him, and chose St. Edwin Sands Treasure^r & Gover^r of y^e Company. He having 60. voyces, St. John Worstenholme 16. voices, and Alderman Johnson 24. But St. Thomas Smith, when he saw some parte of his honour lost, was very angrie, & raised a faction to cavill & contend aboute y^e election, and sought to taxe St. Edwin with many things that might both disgrace him, and also put him by his office of Governour. In which contentions they yet stick, and are not fit nor readie to intermedle in any bussines; and what issue things will come to we are not yet certaine. It is most like St. Edwin will carrie it away, and if he doe, things will goe well in Virginia; if otherwise, they will goe ill enough allways. We hope in some 2. or 3. Court days things will settle. Mean space I thinke to goe downe into Kente, & come up againe aboute 14. days, or 3. weeks hence; excepte either by these afforesaid contentions, or by y^e ille tidings from Virginia, we be wholly discouraged, of which tidings I am now to speake.

Captaine Argoll† is come home this weeke (he upon notice of y^e intente of y^e Counsell, came away before St. Georg Yeardley‡ came ther, and so ther is no small dissention). But his tidings are ill, though his person be wellcome. He saith Mr. Blackwells shipe came not ther till March, but going towards winter, they had still norwest winds, which carried them to the southward beyond their course. And y^e m^r of y^e ship & some 6. of y^e mariners dieing, it seemed they could not find y^e bay, till after long seeking & beating aboute. Mr. Blackwell is dead, & Mr. Maggner, y^e Captain; yea, ther are dead, he saith, 130. persons, one & other in y^e ship; it is said ther was in all an 180. persons in y^e ship, so as they were packed together like herings. They had amongst them y^e fluxe, and also wante of fresh water; so as it is hear rather wondred at y^e so many are

* For an account of Sir Thomas Smith, the first Treasurer and Governor of the Virginia Company, see Belknap's American Biog., II. 9-19; Stith, pp. 42, 158.—Ed.

† For ample notices of Sir Samuel Argall and Sir George Yeardley, see Stith, pp. 145, 157; Smith, fol. ed., pp. 119, 123; Belknap, II. 51-73.—Ed.

alive, then that so many are dead. The marchants hear say it was Mr. Blackwells faulte to pack so many in y^e ship; yea, & ther were great mutterings & repinings amongst them, and upbraiding of Mr. Blackwell, for his dealing and dispossing of them, when they saw how he had dispossed of them, & how he insulted over them. Yea, y^e streets at Graysend runge of their extreame quarrelings, crying out one of another, Thou hast brought me to this, and, I may thanke the for this. Heavie newes it is, and I would be glad to heare how farr it will discourage. I see none hear discouraged much, [25] but rather desire to lerne to beware by other mens harmes, and to amend that wherin they have failed. As we desire to serve one another in love, so take heed of being inthraled by any imperious persone, espetically if they be discerned to have an eye to them selves. It doth often trouble me to thinke that in this bussines we are all to learne and none to teach; but better so, then to depend upon such teachers as Mr. Blackwell was. Such a strategeme he once made for Mr. Johnson & his people at Emden, w^{ch} was their subversion. But though he ther clenlily (yet unhonstly) plucked his neck out of y^e collar, yet at last his foote is caught. Hear are no letters come, y^e ship captain Argole came in is yet in y^e west parts; all y^t we hear is but his report; it seemeth he came away secretly. The ship y^t Mr. Blackwell went in will be hear shortly. It is as Mr. Robinson once said; he thought we should hear no good of them.

Mr. B. is not well at this time; whether he will come back to you or goe into y^e north, I yet know not. For my selfe, I hope to see an end of this bussines ere I come, though I am sorie to be thus from you; if things had gone roundly forward, I should have been with you within these 14. days. I pray God directe us, and give us that spirite which is fitting for such a bussines. Thus having su^marily pointed at things w^{ch} Mr. Brewster (I thinke) hath more largely write of to Mr. Robinson, I leave you to the Lords protection.

Yours in all readines, &c.

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

London, May 8.

An^o: 1619.

A word or tow by way of digression touching this Mr. Blackwell; * he was an elder of y^e church at Amsterdam,

* Francis Blackwell. See Hanbury's Hist. Memorials, I. 148. — ED.

a man well known of most of them. He declined from y^e trueth wth M^r. Johnson & y^e rest, and went with him when y^{ey} parted assunder in y^t wofull maner, w^{ch} brought so great dishonour to God, scandall to y^e trueth, & outward ruine to them selves in this world. But I hope, notwithstanding, through y^e mercies of y^e Lord, their souls are now at rest with him in y^e heavens, and y^t they are arrived in y^e Haven of hapines; though some of their bodies were thus buried in y^e terrable seas, and others sunke under y^e burthen of bitter afflictions. He with some others had prepared for to goe to Virginia. And he, with sundrie godly citizens, being at a private meeing (I take it a fast) in London, being discovered, many of them were apprehended, wherof M^r. Blackwell was one; but he so glosed wth y^e b^ps, and either dissembled or flatly denyed y^e trueth which formerly he had maintained; and not only so, but very unworthily betrayed and accused another godly man who had escaped, that so he might slip his own neck out of y^e collar, & to obtaine his owne freedom brought others into bonds. Wherupon he so wone y^e b^ps favour (but lost y^e Lord's) as he was not only distempered, but in open courte y^e archbishop gave him great applause and his sollemne blessing to proceed in his voyage. But if such events follow y^e b^ps blessing, happie are they y^t misse y^e same; it is much better to keepe a good conscience and have y^e Lords blessing, whether in life or death.

But see how y^e man thus apprehended by M^r. Blackwells means, writs to a freind of his.

Right dear freind & christian brother, *M^r. Carver*, I salute you & yours in y^e Lord, &c. As for my owne presente condition, I doubt not but you well understand it ere this by our brother Maistersone,* who should have tasted of y^e same cupp;

* Richard Masterson was a member of the Leyden church, and was afterwards a deacon of the church at Ply-

mouth. See notice of his death under the year 1633. See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 44; Young, p. 73. — Ed.

had his place of residence & his person been as well knowne as my selfe. Some what I have written to *Mr. Cushman* how y^e matter *still continues*. I have petitioned *twice* to Mr. Sherives, and *once* to my Lord Cooke, and have used such reasons to move them to pittie, that if they were not overruled by some others, I suppose I should soone gaine my libertie; as that I was a yonge man living by my [26] credite, indebted to diverse in our citie, living at more then ordinarie charges in a close & tedious prison; besids great rents abroad, all my bussines lying still, my only servante lying lame in y^e countrie, my wife being also great with child. And yet no answer till y^e lords of his majesties Counsell gave consente. Howbeit, Mr. Blackwell, a man as deepe in this action as I, was delivred at a cheaper rate, with a great deale less adoe; yea, with an addition of y^e Archb: blessing. I am sorie for Mr. Blackwels weaknes, I wish it may prove no worse. But yet he & some others of them, *before their going*, were not sorie, but thought it was for y^e best that I was nominated, not because y^e Lord sanctifies evill to good, but that y^e action was good, yea for y^e best. One reason I well remember he used was, because this trouble would encrease y^e Virginia plantation, in that now people begane to be more generally inclined to goe; and if he had not nomminated some such as I, he had not bene free, being it was knowne that diverse citizens besids them selves were ther. I expecte an answer shortly what they intende concerning me; I purpose to write to some others of you, by whom you shall know the certaintie. Thus not haveing further at present to acquaint you withall, comēding myselfe to your prairs, I cease, & comitte you and us all to y^e Lord.

From my chamber in Wodstreete Compter.*

Your freind, & brother in bonds,

SABIN STARESMORE.†

Sept^r: 4. An^o: 1618.

But thus much by y^e way, which may be of instruction & good use.

But at last, after all these things, and their long attendance, they had a patent granted them, and confirmed

* A prison in London. Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1633, p. 308. — Ed.

† See page 36. — Ed.

under y^e Companies seale; but these devissions and distractions had shaken of many of ther pretended freinds, and disappointed them of much of their hoped for & proffered means. By the advise of some freinds this pattente was not taken in y^e name of any of their owne, but in y^e name of Mr. John Wincob (a religious gentleman then belonging to y^e Countess of Lincoline), who intended to goe with them. But God so disposed as he never went, nor they ever made use of this patente,* which had cost them so much labour and charge, as by y^e sequell will appeare. This patente being sente over for them to veiwe & consider, as also the passages aboute y^e propossitions between them & such marchants & freinds as should either goe or adventure with them, and espetially with those† on whom y^e^y did cheefly depend for shipping and means, whose proffers had been large, they were requested to fitt and prepare them selves with all speed. A right emblime, it may be, of y^e uncertine things of this world; y^t when men have toyld them selves for them, they vanish into smoke.

The 6. Chap.

Concerning y^e agreements and artickles between them, and such marchants & others as adventured moneys; with other things falling out aboute making their provissions.

Upon y^e receite of these things by one of their messengers, they had a sollemne meeting and a day of humilliation to seeke y^e Lord for his direction; and their pastor tooke this texte, 1. Sam. 23. 3, 4. *And David's men said unto him, see, we be afraid hear in Judah, how much more if we*

* This patent is not extant, and appears not to have been when Hubbard wrote his History, which was before 1682. We are ignorant as to its terms and conditions, and the date of its issue.

It is supposed to have embraced a tract of territory near the mouth of the Hudson River. See Hubbard, p. 50; 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., II. 156, 157. — Ed.
† Mr. Tho: Weston, &c.

come to *Keilah* against y^e host of the *Philistines*? Then David asked counsell of y^e Lord againe, &c. From which texte he taught many things very aptly, and befitting ther present occasion and condition, strengthing them against their fears and perplexities, and encouraging them in their resolutions. [27] After which they concluded both what number and what persons should prepare themselves to goe with y^e first; for all y^t were willing to have gone could not gett ready for their other affairs in so shorte a time; neither if all could have been ready, had ther been means to have trāsported them alltogeather. Those that staid being y^e greater number required y^e pastor to stay with them; and indeede for other reasons he could not then well goe, and so it was y^e more easilie yeelded unto. The other then desired y^e elder, M^r. Brewster, to goe with them, which was also condescended unto. It was also agreed on by mutuall consente and covenante, that those that went should be an absolute church of them selves, as well as those y^t staid; seing in such a dangrous viorage, and a removall to such a distance, it might come to pass they should (for y^e body of them) never meete againe in this world; yet with this proviso, that as any of y^e rest came over to them, or of y^e other returned upon occasion, they should be reputed as members without any further dismission or testimoniall. It was allso promised to those y^t wente first, by y^e body of y^e rest, that if y^e Lord gave them life, & meās, & opportunitie, they would come to them as soone as they could.

Aboute this time, whilst they were perplexed with y^e proceedings of y^e Virginia Company, & y^e ill news from thence aboute M^r. Blackwell & his company, and making inquirey about y^e hiring & buying of shiping for their viorage, some Dutchmen made them faire offers aboute goeing with them.* Also one M^r. Thomas Weston, a

* From Winslow in Young, p. 385, we learn that the Dutch offered to transport the Pilgrims to Hudson River freely, and to furnish every family with cattle, if they would "go under them." — ED.

m^cchant of London, came to Leyden aboute y^e same time, (who was well acquainted with some of them, and a furtherer of them in their former proseedings,) haveing much conferance wth M^r. Robinson & other of y^e cheefe of them, perswaded them to goe on (as it seems) & not to medle with y^e Dutch,* or too much to depend on y^e Virginia Company; for if that failed, if they came to resolution, he and such marchants as were his freinds (togeather with their owne means) would sett them forth; and they should make ready, and neither feare wante of shipping nor money; for what they wanted should be provided. And, not so much for him selfe as for y^e satisfing of such frends as he should procure to adventure in this bussines, they were to draw such articls of agreemente, and make such propossitions, as might y^e better induce his freinds to venture. Upon which (after y^e formere conclusion) articles were drawne & agreed unto, and were showne unto him, and approved by him; and afterwards by their messenger (M^r. John Carver) sent into England,† who, togeather

* From documents obtained within a few years in Holland, by Mr. J. R. Brodhead, author of an excellent History of New York, published in 1853, we learn that negotiations were pending in the early part of the year 1620, between the Amsterdam merchants and Robinson, with a view to the removal of the Pilgrims to New Amsterdam. On the 12th of February of that year, application was made in their behalf to the Stadtholder, by these merchants, stating the conditions on which "this English preacher at Leyden" and his associates would consent to colonize that country; viz. that they could be assured of the protection of the United Provinces; and praying that such protection be granted, and that two ships of war be sent to secure, provisionally, the lands to that government, &c. The Stadtholder referred the subject of this memorial to the States General, who, after repeated deliberations, resolved, on the 11th of April, to reject the prayer of the petitioners. Possibly Robinson and his associates had deter-

mined, before learning the fate of this memorial of the Amsterdam merchants, to pursue these negotiations no further; for he states in his letter to Carver of the 14th June following, on pages 47-49, that "when we had in hand another course with the Dutchmen, broke it off at his [Weston's] motion, and upon the conditions by him shortly after propounded." See Brodhead's Hist. of New York, pp. 123-126.—Ep.

† From the narrative we must infer that Weston's visit to Leyden at this time was before the patent from the Virginia Company was granted; but Carver and Cushman were not sent into England to make the final arrangements for the voyage until after the patent was "sent over for them to view and consider."

Bradford is provokingly deficient here in dates. It would be gratifying to know more definitely, not only the precise order in which the various occurrences narrated on the last few pages took place, but the particular date of each. We should like to know

with Robart Cushman, were to receive y^e moneys & make provissions both for shiping & other things for y^e vioage; with this charge, not to exseede their comission, but to proceed according to y^e former articles. Also some were chossen to doe y^e like for such things as were to be prepared there; so those that weare to goe, prepared themselves with all speed, and sould of their estats and (such as were able) put in their moneys into y^e commone stock, which was disposed by those appointed, for y^e making of generall provissions. Aboute this time also they had heard, both by M^r. Weston and others, y^t sundrie Hon^{bl}. Lords had obtained a large grante from y^e king, for y^e more northerly parts of that countrie, derived out of y^e Virginia patente, and wholly secluded from their Governement, and to be called by another name, viz. New-England.* Unto which M^r. Weston, and y^e cheefe of them, begane to incline it was [28] best for them to goe, as for other reasons, so cheefly for y^e hope of present profite to be made by y^e fishing that was found in y^t countrie.

But as in all bussineses y^e acting parte is most difficulte, espetially wher y^e worke of many agents must concurr, so it was found in this; for some of those y^t should have gone in England, fell of & would not goe; other marchants & freinds y^t had offered to adventure their moneys

precisely when the Wincob patent was granted; the date of Weston's visit to Leyden, here narrated; and also when Carver and Cushman were despatched into England to make provision for the voyage. Doubtless these and other events in this connection took place within a few months of the sailing of the *Speedwell*; but it would be a satisfaction to have the exact chronology from Bradford's pen. — Ed.

* On the 3d of March, 1619-20, the Council for the second colony, "in the North Partes of Virginia," petitioned his majesty for a new act of incorporation, and "that their territory may be called — as by the Prince His Highness it hath been named — NEW ENGLAND."

The royal warrant to the Solicitor-General "to prepare a patent for his majesties royal signature" is dated 23d July, 1620. This patent passed the seals on the 3d of November following, and is the great civil basis of all the future patents that divide New England. The company thus incorporated was styled "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." See the petition, which was read 3d March, in Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York, III. 2, 3; the warrant in Gorges's New England, p. 21; and the Patent in Hazard, I. 103-118. — Ed.

withdrew, and pretended many excuses. Some disliking they wente not to Guiana; others againe would adventure nothing excepte they wente to Virginia. Some againe (and those that were most relied on) fell in utter dislike with Virginia, and would doe nothing if they wente thither. In y^e midds of these distractions, they of Leyden, who had put of their estats, and laid out their moneys, were brought into a greate streight, fearing what issue these things would come too; but at length y^e generalitie was swaid to this latter opinion.

But now another difficultie arose, for M^r. Weston and some other that were for this course, either for their better advantage or rather for y^e drawing on of others, as they pretended, would have some of those conditions altered y^t were first agreed on at Leyden. To which y^e 2. agents sent from Leyden (or at least one of them who is most charged with it) did consente; seeing els y^t all was like to be dashte, & y^e opportunitie lost, and y^t they which had put of their estats and paid in their moneys were in hazard to be undon. They presumed to conclude with y^e marchants on those termes, in some things contrary to their order & comission, and without giving them notice of y^e same; yea, it was conceled least it should make any further delay; which was y^e cause afterward of much trouble & contention.

• It will be meete I here inserte these conditions, which are as foloweth,

An^o: 1620. July 1.*

1. The adventurers † & planters doe agree, that every person that goeth being aged 16. years & upward, be rated at 10^{li}., and ten pounds to be accounted a single share.

* The date here given, July 1st, does not indicate the time when these "conditions" were first drawn up at Leyden, nor the time when the alterations complained of were agreed upon at London, as will appear by the letters which follow. The articles were doubtless re-

written at London, and made ready to receive the signatures of the parties to the agreement. — Ed.

† For an account of the Adventurers, see Smith's *Generall Historie*, p. 217, fol. ed. He says that they were at first about seventy in number, that they

2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth him selfe out with 10^{li}. either in money or other provissions, be accounted as haveing 20^{li}. in stock, and in y^e devission shall receive a double share.

3. The persons transported & y^e adventurers shall continue their joynt stock & partnership togeather, y^e space of 7. years, (excepte some unexpected impedimente doe cause y^e whole company to agree otherwise,) during which time, all profits & benifits that are gott by trade, traffick, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means of any person or persons, remaine still in y^e comone stock untill y^e division.

4. That at their coming ther, they chose out such a number of fitt persons, as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon y^e sea; imploying the rest in their severall faculties upon y^e land; as building houses, tilling, and planting y^e ground, & makeing shuch comodities as shall be most usefull for y^e collonie.

5. That at y^e end of y^e 7. years, y^e capitall & profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chatles, be equally devided betwixte y^e adventurers, and planters; w^{ch} done, every man shall be free from other of them of any debt or detrimente concerning this adventure.

[29] 6. Whosoever cometh to y^e colonie hereafter, or putteth any into y^e stock, shall at the ende of y^e 7. years be alowed proportionably to y^e time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carie his wife & children, or servants, shall be alowed for everie person now aged 16. years & upward, a single share in y^e devission, or if he provid them necessaries, a duple share, or if they be between 10. year old and 16., then 2. of them to be reconed for a person, both in trāsportation and devission.

8. That such children as now goe, & are under y^e age of ten years, have noe other shar in y^e devission, but 50. acers of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before y^e 7. years be expired, their executors to have their parte or sharr at y^e devission, proportionably to y^e time of their life in y^e collonie.

10. That all such persons as are of this collonie, are to have their meate, drink, apparell, and all provissions out of y^e comon stock & goods of y^e said collonie.

dwell mostly about London, are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination, aiming to do good

and to plant Religion; they have a President and Treasurer every year newly chosen by the most voices.—ED.

The cheefe & principall differences betwene these & the former conditions, stood in those 2. points; that y^e houses, & lands improved, espetially gardens & home lotts should remaine undevided wholly to y^e planters at y^e 7. years end. 2^y, y^t they should have had 2. days in a weeke for their owne private imploymente, for y^e more comforte of them selves and their families, espetially such as had families. But because letters are by some wise men counted y^e best parte of histories, I shall shew their greevances hereabout by their owne letters, in which y^e passages of things will be more truly discerned.

A letter of Mr. Robinsons to John Carver.

June 14. 1620. N. Stile.*

My dear freind & brother, whom with yours I alwaise remember in my best affection, and whose wellfare I shall never cease to comend to God by my best & most earnest praieres. You doe throwly understand by our generall letters y^e estate of things hear, which indeed is very pitifull; espetially by wante of shipping, and not seeing means lickly, much less certaine, of having it provided; though withall ther be great want of money & means to doe needfull things. Mr. Pickering, you know before this, will not defray a peny hear; though Robart Cushman presumed of I know not how many 100^{li}. from him, & I know not whom. Yet it seems strange y^t we should be put to him to receive both his & his partners adventer, and yet Mr. Weston write unto him, y^t in regard of it, he hath drawne upon him a 100^{li}. more. But ther is in this some misterie, as indeed it seems ther is in y^e whole course. Besids, wheras diverse are to pay in some parts of their moneys yet behinde, they refuse

* Prince has the following note here as to the date of this letter: "June 14, N. S. is June 4, O. S., which is Lord's day, and therefore here is doubtless a mistake. It seems more likely to have been June 24, N. S., which is June 14, O. S., especially since this letter is plainly dated June 24, both at the beginning and end in Governor Bradford's *Collection of Letters*, and also observing here that the figure 1, in 14, seems to have

been altered on the paper." But what we may suppose to be a later note by him is found in his *Annals*, l. 68, where he makes a brief extract from this letter. "The date in the *Manuscript* is June 14, N. S. But the figure 1, being somewhat blurred, and June 14, N. S. being Lord's day, and this letter placed before the following of June 10, N. S., I conclude it should be June 4, N. S.;" which corresponds to May 25, O. S. — Ed.

to doe it, till they see shiping provided, or a course taken for it. Neither doe I thinke is ther a man hear would pay any thing, if he had againe his money in his purse. You know right well we depended on Mr. Weston alone, and upon such means as he would procure for this commone bussines; and when we had in hand another course with y^e Dutchmen, broke it of at his motion, and upon y^e conditions by him shortly after propounded. He did this in his love I know, but things appeare not answerable from him hitherto. That he should have first have put in his moneys, is thought by many to have been but fitt, but y^t I can well excuse, he being a marchante and haveing use of it to his benefite; wheras others, if it had been in their hands, would have consumed it. [30] But y^t he should not but have had either shipping ready before this time, or at least certaine means, and course, and y^e same knowne to us for it, or have taken other order otherwise, cannot in my conscience be excused. I have heard y^t when he hath been moved in the bussines, he hath put it of from him selfe, and referred it to y^e others*; and would come to Georg Morton, & enquire news of him aboute things, as if he had scarce been some accessarie unto it. Wether he hath failed of some helps from others which he expected, and so be not well able to goe through with things, or whether he hath feared least you should be ready too soone & so encrease y^e charge of shiping above y^t is meete, or whether he have thought by withoulding to put us upon straits, thinking y^t therby Mr. Brewer and Mr. Pickering would be drawne by importunitie to doe more, or what other misterie is in it, we know not; but sure we are y^t things are not answerable to such an occasion. Mr. Weston maks himselfe mery with our endeavors about buying a ship, but we have done nothing in this but with good reason, as I am perswaded, nor yet that I know in any thing els, save in those tow; y^e one, that we imployed Robart Cushman, who is known (though a good man, & of spetiall abilities in his kind, yet) most unfitt to deale for other men, by reason of his singularitie, and too great indifferancie for any conditions, and for (to speak truly) that† we have had nothing from him but termes & presumptions. The other, y^t we have so much re-

✓ * *Yowthers* in the manuscript, an illegibly written word, doubtless intended for "y^e others." — Ed.

† This word is enclosed in brackets in the manuscript. — Ed.

lyed, by implicite faith as it were, upon generalities, without seeing y^e perticuler course & means for so waghtie an affaire set down unto us. For shiping, Mr. Weston, it should seeme, is set upon hireing, which yet I wish he may presently effecte; but I see little hope of help from hence if so it be. Of Mr. Brewer* you know what to expecte. I doe not thinke Mr. Pickering* will ingage, excepte in y^e course of buying, in former letters specified. Aboute y^e conditions, you have our reasons for our judgments of what is agreed. And let this spetially be borne in minde, y^t the greatest parte of y^e Collonie is like to be employed constantly, not upon dressing ther perticuler land & building houses, but upon fishing, trading, &c. So as y^e land & house will be but a trifell for advantage to y^e adventurers, and yet the devisi-
 on of it a great discouragmente to y^e planters, who would with singuler care make it comfortable with borrowed houres from their sleep. The same consideration of comōne imploymente constantly by the most is a good reason not to have y^e 2. daies in a weeke denyed y^e few planters for private use, which yet is subordinate to comōne good. Consider also how much unfite that you & your liks must serve a new prentishipe of 7. years, and not a daies freedome from taske. Send me word what persons are to goe, who of usefull faculties, & how many, & perticulerly of every thing. I know you wante not a minde. I am sorie you have not been at London all this while, but y^e provisions could not wante you. Time will suffer me to write no more; fare you & yours well allways in y^e Lord, in whom I rest.

Yours to use,

JOHN ROBINSON.

An other letter from sundrie of them at y^e same time.

[31] To their loving freinds John Carver and Robart Cushman, these, &c.

Good bretheren, after salutations, &c. We received diverse letters at y^e coming of Mr. Nash† & our pilott, which is a great encouragmente unto us, and for whom we hop after times will minister occasion of praising God; and indeed had you not

* Thomas Brewer and Edward Pickering were among the "Adventurers." See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 48; also this History under the year 1622.—Ed.

† Thomas Nash was one of Robinson's church at Leyden. See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 44.—Ed.

sente him, many would have been ready to fainte and goe backe. Partly in respecte of y^e new conditions which have bene taken up by you, which all men are against, and partly in regard of our owne inabilitie to doe any one of those many waightie bussineses you referr to us here. For y^e former wherof, wheras Robart Cushman desirs reasons for our dislike, promising therupon to alter y^e same, or els saing we should thinke he hath no brains, we desire him to exercise them therin, refering him to our pastors former reasons, and them to y^e censure of y^e godly wise. But our desires are that you will not entangle your selvs and us in any such unreasonable courses as those are, viz. y^t the marchants should have y^e halfe of mens houses and lands at y^e dividente; and that persons should be deprived of y^e 2. days in a weeke agreed upon, yea every momente of time for their owne perticuler; by reason wherof we cannot conceive why any should carie servants for their own help and comfort; for that we can require no more of them then all men one of another. This we have only by relation from M^r. Nash, & not from any writing of your owne, & therefore hope you have not proceeded farr in so great a thing without us. But requiring you not to exceed the bounds of your comission, which was to proceed upon y^e things or conditions agreed upon and expressed in writing (at your going over about it), we leave it, not without marveling, that you^r selfe, as you write, knowing how smale a thing troubleth our consultations, and how few, as you fear, understands the busnes aright, should trouble us with such matters as these are, &c.

Salute M^r. Weston from us, in whom we hope we are not deceived; we pray you make known our estate unto him, and if you thinke good shew him our letters, at least tell him (y^t under God) we much relie upon him & put our confidence in him; and, as your selves well know, that if he had not been an adventurer with us, we had not taken it in hand; presuming that if he had not seene means to accomplish it, he would not have begune it; so we hope in our extremitie he will so farr help us as our expectation be no way made frustrate concerning him. Since therefore, good brethren, we have plainly opened y^e state of things with us in this matter, you will, &c. Thus beseeching y^e Allmightie, who is allsufficiente to raise us out of this depth of difficulties, to assiste us herein; raising such means by his providence and fatherly care for us, his pore children & servants,

as we may with comforte behould y^e hand of our God for good towards us in this our bussines, which we undertake in his name & fear, we take leave & remaine

Your perplexed, yet hopfull

June 10. New Stille,

bretheren,

An^o: 1620.

S. F. E. W. W. B. J. A.*

A letter of Robart Cushman's to them.†

Brethern, I understand by letters & passagess y^t have come to me, that ther are great discontents, & dislike of my proceedings amongst you. Sorie I am to hear it, yet contente to beare it, as not doubting but y^t partly by writing, and more principally by word when we shall come togeather, I shall satisfie any reasonable man. I have been perswaded [32] by some, espetially this bearer, to come and clear things unto you; but as things now stand I cannot be absente one day, excepte I should hazard all y^e viage. Neither conceive I any great good would come of it. Take then, brethern, this as a step to give you contente. First, for your dislike of y^e alteration of one clause in y^e conditions, if you conceive it right, ther can be no blame lye on me at all. For y^e articles first brought over by John Carver were never seene of any of y^e adventurers hear, excepte Mr. Weston, neither did any of them like them because of that clause; nor Mr. Weston him selfe, after he had well considered it. But as at y^e first ther was 500^{li}. withdrawne by Sr. Georg Farrer and his brother upon that dislike, so all y^e rest would have withdrawne (Mr. Weston excepted) if we had not altered y^t clause. Now whilst we at Leyden conclude upon points, as we did, we reckoned without our host, which was not my falte. Besids, I shewed you by a letter y^e equitie of y^t condition, & our inconveniences, which might be sett against all Mr. Rob: inconveniences, that without y^e alteration of y^t clause, we could neither have means to gett thither, nor supplie wherby to subsiste when we were ther. Yet notwithstanding all those reasons, which were not mine, but other mens wiser then my selfe, without answer to any one of them, here cometh over many quirimonies, and complaints against me, of lording it over my brethern, and making conditions fitter for theeves & bond-slaves then honest men, and that of my owne head I did what

* In Governor Bradford's Collection of Letters, these subscribers are thus wrote out at length: SAMUEL FULLER, WILLIAM BRADFORD, ISAAC ALLERTON, ED. WINSLOW. — Prince.

† This letter bears no date. — Ed.

I list. And at last a paper of reasons,* framed against y^t clause in y^e conditions, which as y^{ey} were delivered me open, so my answer is open to you all. And first, as they are no other but inconveniences, such as a man might frame 20. as great on y^e other side, and yet prove nor disprove nothing by them, so they misse & mistake both y^e very ground of y^e article and nature of y^e project. For, first, it is said, that if ther had been no division of houses & lands, it had been better for y^e poore. True, and y^t showeth y^e inequality of y^e condition; we should more respecte him y^t ventureth both his money and his person, then him y^t ventureth but his person only.

2. Consider wherabout we are, not giveing almes, but furnishing a store house; no one shall be porer then another for 7. years, and if any be rich, none can be pore. At y^e least, we must not in such bussines crie, Pore, pore, mercie, mercie. Charitie hath it[s] life in wraks, not in venturs; you are by this most in a hopefull pitie of makeing, therfore complaine not before you have need.

3. This will hinder y^e building of good and faire houses, contrarie to y^e advise of pollitiks. A. So we would have it; our purpose is to build for y^e presente such houses as, if need be, we may with litle greefe set a fire, and rune away by the lighte; our riches shall not be in pompe, but in strenght; if God send us riches, we will imploye them to provid more men, ships, munition, &c. You may see it amongst the best pollitiks, that a comonwele is readier to ebe then to flow, when once fine houses and gay cloaths come up.

4. The Gove^t may prevent excess in building. A. But if it be on all men beforehand resolved on, to build mean houses, y^e Gove^t† laboure is spared.

5. All men are not of one condition. A. If by condition you mean wealth, you are mistaken; if you mean by condition, qualities, then I say he that is not contente his neighbour shall have as good a house, fare, means, &c. as him selfe, is not of a good qualitie. 2^{ly}. Such retired persons, as have an eie only to them selves, are fitter to come wher catching is, then closing; and are fitter to live alone, then in any societie, either civill or religious.

* This "paper of reasons," containing the specific objections here replied to by Cushman, appears not to have been preserved. Robinson writes

to Carver, on page 49, "About the conditions, you have our reasons for our judgments of what is agreed." — ED.

† Goue^t in the manuscript. — ED.

6. It will be of litle value, scarce worth 5^{ti}. A. True, it may be not worth halfe 5^{ti}. [33] If then so smale a thing will content them, why strive we thus aboute it, and give them occasion to suspecte us to be worldly & covetous? I will not say what I have heard since these complaints came first over.

7. Our freinds with us y^e adventure mind not their owne profite, as did y^e old adventurers. A. Then they are better then we, who for a litle matter of profite are readie to draw back, and it is more apparente brethern looke too it, that make profite your maine end; repente of this, els goe not least you be like Jonas to Tarshis. 2^{ly}. Though some of them mind not their profite, yet others doe mind it; and why not as well as we? venturs are made by all sorts of men, and we must labour to give them all contente, if we can.

8. It will break y^e course of comūnitie, as may be showed by many reasons. A. That is but said, and I say againe, it will best foster comunion, as may be showed by many reasons.

9. Great profite is like to be made by trucking, fishing, &c. A. As it is better for them, so for us; for halfe is ours, besides our living still upon it, and if such profite in y^e way come, our labour shall be y^e less on y^e land, and our houses and lands must & will be of less value.

10. Our hazard is greater then theirs. A. True, but doe they put us upon it? doe they urge or egg us? hath not y^e motion & resolution been always in our selves? doe they any more then in seeing us resolute if we had means, help us to means upon equall termes & conditions? If we will not goe, they are content to keep their moneys. Thus I have pointed at a way to loose those knots, which I hope you will consider seriously, and let me have no more stirre about them.

Now further, I hear a noise of slavish conditions by me made; but surly this is all that I have altered, and reasons I have sent you. If you mean it of y^e 2. days in a week for perticuler, as some insinuate, you are deceived; you may have 3. days in a week for me if you will. And when I have spoken to y^e adventurers of times of working, they have said they hope we are men of discretion & conscience, and so fitte to be trusted our selves with that. But indeed y^e ground of our proceedings at Leyden was mistaken, and so here is nothing but tottering every day, &c.

As for them of Amsterdam I had thought they would as

soone have gone to Rome as with us; for our libertie is to them as ratts bane, and their riggor as bad to us as y^e Spanish Inquisition. If any practise of mine discourage them, let them yet draw back; I will undertake they shall have their money againe presently paid hear. Or if the company thinke me to be y^e Jonas, let them cast me of before we goe; I shall be content to stay with good will, having but y^e cloaths on my back; only let us have quietnes, and no more of these clamors; full litle did I expecte these things which are now come to pass, &c.

Yours,

R. CUSHMAN.

But whether this letter of his ever came to their hands at Leyden I well know not; I rather thinke it was staid by M^r. Carver & kept by him, forgiving offence. But this which follows was ther received; both which I thought pertenant to recite.

*Another of his to y^e foresaid, June 11. 1620.**

Salutations, &c. I received your l^r. yesterday, by John Turner, with another y^e same day from Amsterdam by M^r. W. savouring of y^e place whence it came. And indeed the many discouragements I find her, togeather with y^e demurrs and retirings ther, had made me to say, I would give up my accounts to John Carver, & at his comeing aquainte him fully with all courses, and so leave it quite, with only y^e pore cloaths on my back. But gathering up my selfe by further consideration, [34] I resolved yet to make one triall more, and to aquainte M^r. Weston with y^e fainted state of our bussines; and though he hath been much discontented at some thing amongst us of late, which hath made him often say, that save for his promise, he would not meadle at all with y^e bussines any more, yet considering how farr we were plunged into maters, & how it stood both on our credits & undoing, at y^e last he gathered up him selfe a litle more, & coming to me 2. hours after, he tould me he would not yet leave it. And so advising togeather we resolved to hire a ship, and have tooke liking of one till Monday, about 60. laste, for a greater we cannot gett, excepte it be tow great; but a fine ship it is.† And seeing our neer freinds ther are so streite lased,

* June 11. O. S. is Lord's day, and the date of the letter following. — therefore 't is likely the date of this letter should be June 10, the same with *Prince*.

† The renowned Mayflower. — Ed.

we hope to assure her without troubling them any further; and if y^e ship faile too small, it fitteth well y^t such as stumble at strawes allready, may rest them ther a while, least worse blocks come in y^e way ere 7. years be ended. If you had beaten this bussines so throuly a month agoe, and write to us as now you doe, we could thus have done much more conveniently. But it is as it is; I hope our freinds ther, if they be quitted of y^e ship hire, will be indusced to venture y^e more. All y^t I now require is y^t salt and netts may ther be boughte, and for all y^e rest we will here provid it; yet if that will not be, let them but stand for it a month or tow, and we will take order to pay it all. Let Mr. *Reinholds* tarie ther, and bring y^e ship* to Southampton. We have hired another pilote here, one Mr. *Clarke*, who went last year to Virginia with a ship of kine.

You shall here distinctly by John Turner,† who I thinke shall come hence on Tewsday night. I had thought to have come with him, to have answerd to my complaints; but I shal lerne to pass litle for their censurs; and if I had more minde to goe & dispute & expostulate with them, then I have care of this waightie bussines, I were like them who live by clamours & jangling. But neither my mind nor my body is at libertie to doe much, for I am fettered with bussines, and had rather study to be quiet, then to make answer to their exceptions. If men be set on it, let them beat y^e cair; I hope such as are my sinceire freinds will not thinke but I can give some reason of my actions. But of your mistaking aboute y^e mater, & other things tending to this bussines, I shall nexte informe you more distinctly. Mean space entreate our freinds not to be too bussie in answering matters, before they know them. If I doe such things as I cañot give reasons for, it is like you have sett a foole aboute your bussines, and so turne y^e reprooffe to your selves, & send an other, and let me come againe to my Combes.‡ But setting

* The Speedwell, of which Reynolds was captain. — Ed.

† He came in the Mayflower. — Ed.

‡ In connection with this expression, "let me come again to my Combes," we will cite a passage from a tract published in London in 1644, entitled, "A Brief Narration of some Church Courses held in Opinion and Practise in the Churches lately erected in *New England*, &c. By W. R.[athband]." On the 46th page, the writer is speak-

ing of prophesying, or private men's preaching, and says, "There is a book printed, called A Sermon preached at Plymouth in N. E., which (as I am certified) was made there by a Comber of wooll." The sermon alluded to was first printed in London in 1622, and though it bears no name, yet uniform tradition assigns it to Cushman, who preached it at the time of his brief visit to Plymouth in the latter part of the year 1621. — Ed.

a side my naturall infirmities, I refuse not to have my cause judged, both of God, & all indifferent men; and when we come together I shall give accounte of my actions hear. The Lord, who judgeth justly without respect of persons, see into y^e equitie of my cause, and give us quiet, peacable, and patient minds, in all these turmoiles, and sanctifie unto us all crosses whatsoever. And so I take my leave of you all, in all love & affection.

I hope we shall gett all hear ready in 14. days.

June 11. 1620.

Your pore brother,

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

Besids these things, ther fell out a differance amongs those 3. that received [35] the moneys & made y^e provisions in England; for besids these tow formerly mentioned sent from Leyden for this end, viz. M^r. Carver & Robert Cushman, ther was one chosen in England to be joyned with them, to make y^e provisions for y^e vioage; his name was M^r. Martin,* he came from Billirike in Essex, from which parts came sundrie others to goe with them, as also from London & other places; and therefore it was thought meete & conveniente by them in Holand that these strangers that were to goe with them, should apointe one thus to be joyned with them, not so much for any great need of their help, as to avoyd all susspition, or jelosie of any partiallitie. And indeed their care for giving offence, both in this & other things afterward, turned to great inconvenience unto them, as in y^e sequell will apeare; but however it shewed their equall & honest minds. The provissions were for y^e most parte made at Southhamton, contrarie to M^r. Westons & Robert Cushman's mind (whose counsells did most concure in all things). A touch of which things I shall give in a letter of his to M^r. Carver, and more will appear afterward.

To his loving freind M^r. John Carver, these, &c.

Loving freind, I have received from you some letters, full of affection & complaints, and what it is you would have of me I

* Doubtless Christopher Martin, one he died January 8, 1621. See Prince, of the passengers in the Mayflower; I. 96.—Ed.

know not; for your crieing out, Negligence, negligence, negligence, I marvell why so negligente a man was used in y^e bussines. Yet know you y^t all that I have power to doe hear, shall not be one hower behind, I warent you. You have reference to Mr. Weston to help us with money, more then his adventure; wher he protesteth but for his promise, he would not have done any thing. He saith we take a heady course, and is offended y^t our provissions are made so farr of; as also that he was not made acquainted with our quantitie of things; and saith y^t in now being in 3. places, so farr remote, we will, with going up & downe, and wrangling & expostulating, pass over y^e somer before we will goe. And to speake y^e trueth, ther is fallen already amongst us a flatt schisme; and we are redier to goe to dispute, then to sett forward a voiage. I have received from Leyden since you wente 3. or 4. letters directed to you, though they only concerne me. I will not trouble you with them. I always feared y^e event of y^e Amsterdammers striking in with us. I trow you must excoṁmunicate me, or els you must goe without their companie, or we shall wante no quareling; but let them pass. We have reckoned, it should seeme, without our host; and, counting upon a 150. persons, ther cannot be founde above 1200^{li}. & odd moneys of all y^e venturs you can reckone, besids some cloath, stockings, & shoes, which are not counted; so we shall come shorte at least 3. or 400^{li}. I would have had some thing shortened at first of beare & other provissions in hope of other adventurs, & now we could have, both in Amsterd: & Kente, beere inough to serve our turne, but now we cannot accept it without prejudice. You fear we have begune to build & shall not be able to make an end; indeed, our courses were never established by counsell, we may therefore justly fear their standing. Yea, ther was a [36] schisme amongst us 3. at y^e first. You wrote to Mr. Martin, to prevente y^e making of y^e provissions in Kente, which he did, and sett downe his resolution how much he would have of every thing, without respecte to any counsell or exception. Surely he y^t is in a societie & yet regards not counsell, may better be a king then a consorte. To be short, if ther be not some other dispossession settled unto then yet is, we y^t should be partners of humilitie and peace, shall be examples of jangling & insulting. Yet your money which you ther must have, we will get provided for you instant-

ly. 500th you say will serve; for y^e rest which hear & in Holand is to be used, we may goe scratch for it. For Mr. Crabe,* of whom you write, he hath promised to goe with us, yet I tell you I shall not be without feare till I see him shipped, for he is much opposed, yet I hope he will not faile. 'Thinke y^e best of all, and bear with patience what is wanting, and y^e Lord guid us all.

Your loving freind,

London, June 10.

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

An^o: 1620.

I have bene y^e larger in these things, and so shall crave leave in some like passages following, (thoug in other things I shal labour to be more contracte,) that their children may see with what difficulties their fathers wrastled in going throug these things in their first beginings, and how God brought them along notwithstanding all their weaknesses & infirmities. As also that some use may be made hereof in after times by others in such like waightie imployments; and herewith I will end this chapter.

The 7. Chap.

Of their departure from Leyden, and other things ther aboute, with their arivall at South hamton, were they all mete together, and tooke in their provissions.

At length, after much travell and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A smale ship† was bought, & fitted in Holand, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in y^e cuntrie and atend upon fishing and shuch other affairs as might be for y^e good & benefite of y^e colonie when they came ther. Another was hired at London, of burden about 9. score;‡ and all other things gott in readines. So being ready to departe, they had a day of solleme humiliation, their

* He was a minister.

† The Mayflower. — Ed.

‡ Of some 60. tune. [The Speedwell. — Ed.]

pastor taking his texte from Ezra 8. 21. *And ther at y^e river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.* Upon which he spent a good parte of y^e day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion.* The rest of the time was spent in powering out prairs to y^e Lord with great fervencie, mixed with abundance of tears. And y^e time being come that they must departe, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of y^e citie, unto a towne sundrie miles of called Delfes-Haven,† wher the ship lay ready to receive them. So they lefte y^t goodly & pleasurable citie, which had been ther resting place near 12. years;‡ but they knew they were pilgrimes,§ & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to y^e heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits. When they [37] came to y^e place they found y^e ship and

* Edward Winslow, in a controversial tract printed in London twenty-six years after this time, gives the substance of some "wholesome counsel Mr. Robinson gave that part of the church whereof he was pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great work of plantation in New England," which has been justly celebrated for the noble spirit of Christian liberty that pervades it. This is usually styled Robinson's "farewell discourse"; but whether it was preached from the text cited above, or not, Winslow, the only authority for it, does not inform us. Neal does not hesitate to appropriate this text, in which he is followed by Belknap and others. See Appendix to "Hypocrisie Unmasked," in Young, p. 396; *Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden*, by George Sumner, Esq., in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, IX. 70; Neal's *New England*, 1st ed., I. 78; Belknap, II. 171, 172. — Ed.

† "The minor part, with Mr. Brewster, their elder, resolved to enter upon this great work, (but take notice the difference of number was not great,) . . . they that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house,

being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music. . . . After this they accompanied us to Delph's Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again." Winslow in Young, p. 384. Delft-Haven is on the Maese, eight miles from Delft, about fourteen miles from Leyden, and thirty-six miles from Amsterdam. — Ed.

‡ Prince, I. 70, and Preface, xii., apparently citing this History at this place, says, "Mr. Brewster, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, with the other English voyagers at Leyden, leave that city where they had lived near 12 years," &c. There is no authority here for these names; besides, Carver was at this time at Southampton, making provision for the voyage, at which place — as will be seen on the following page — he was joined by the Pilgrims on their arrival there in the Speedwell. There are some reasons which render it probable that Brewster also was in England at this time. See p. 38, and p. 31, note. — Ed.

§ Heb. 11.

all things ready; and shuch of their freinds as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdame to see them shipte and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with litle sleepe by y^e most, but with freindly entertainente & christian discourse and other reall expressions of true christian love. The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde, and their freinds with them, where truly dolfull was y^e sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praies did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of y^e Dutch strangers y^t stood on y^e key as spectators, could not refraine from tears. Yet comfortable & sweete it was to see shuch lively and true expressions of dear & unfained love. But y^e tide (which stays for no man) caling them away y^t were thus loath to departe, their Revē^d: pastor falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watric cheeks comended them with most fervente praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other; which proved to be y^e last leave to many of them.

Thus hoysing saile,* with a prosperus winde they came in short time to Southhamton, wher they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready, wth all the rest of their company. After a joyfull wellcome, and mutuall congratulations, with othe^r frendly entertainements, they fell to parley aboute their bussines, how to dispatch with y^e best expedition; as allso with their agents, aboute y^e alteration of y^e conditions. M^r. Carver pleaded he was imployed hear at Hamton, and knew not well what y^e other had don at London. M^r. Cushman answered, he had done nothing but what he was urged too, partly by y^e grounds of equity, and more espetially by necessitie, other wise all had bene dasht and many undon. And in

* This was about 22. of July.

y^e begining he aquainted his felow agents here with, who consented unto him, and left it to him to execute, and to receive y^e money at London and send it downe to them at Hamton, wher they made y^e provissions; the which he accordingly did, though it was against his minde, & some of y^e marchants, y^t they were their made. And for giving them notise at Leyden of this change, he could not well in regarde of y^e shortnes of y^e time; againe, he knew it would trouble them and hinder y^e bussines, which was already delayed overlong in regard of y^e season of y^e year, which he feared they would find to their cost. But these things gave not contente at presente. M^r. Weston, likewise, came up from London to see them dispatcht and to have y^e conditions confirmed; but they refused, and answered him, that he knew right well that these were not according to y^e first agreemente, neither could they yeeld to them without y^e consente of the rest that were behind. And indeed they had spetiall charge when they came away, from the cheefe of those that were behind, not to doe it. At which he was much offended, and tould them, they must then looke to stand on their owne leggs. So he returned in displeasure, and this was y^e first ground of discontent betweene them. And wheras ther wanted well near 100^{li}. to clear things at their going away, he would not take order to disburse a penie, but let them shift as they could. [38] So they were forst to selle of some of their provissions to stop this gape, which was some 3. or 4. score firkins of butter, which comoditie they might best spare, haveing provided too large a quantitie of y^t kind. Then they write a leter to y^e marchants & adventurers* aboute y^e diferances concerning y^e conditions, as foloweth.

Aug. 3. An^o: 1620.†

Beloved freinds, sory we are that ther should be occasion of writing at all unto you, partly because we ever expected to see

* *Adventures* in the manuscript. — Ed. of *Letters*, this letter is dated at South
† In Governor Bradford's *Collection* Hampton. — *Prince*.

y^e most of you hear, but espetially because ther should any difference at all be conceived betweenc us. But seing it faleth out that we cannot conferr together, we thinke it meete (though bresly) to shew you y^e just cause & reason of our differing from those articles last made by Robart Cushman, without our comission or knowledg. And though he might propound good ends to himselfe, yet it no way justifies his doing it. Our maine difference is in y^e 5. & 9. article,* concerning y^e deviding or holding of house and lands; the injoying wherof some of your selves well know, was one spetiall motive, amongst many other, to provoke us to goe. This was thought so reasonable, y^t when y^e greatest of you in adventure (whom we have much cause to respecte), when he propounded conditions to us freely of his owne accorde, he set this downe for one; a copy wherof we have sent unto you, with some additions then added by us; which being liked on both sids, and a day set for y^e paiement of moneys, those of Holland paid in theirs. After y^t, Robart Cushman, M^r. Peirce, & M^r. Martine, brought them into a better forme, & write them in a booke now extante; and upon Roberts shewing them and delivering M^r. Mullins a copy therof under his hand (which we have), he payd in his money. And we of Holland had never seen other before our coming to Hamton, but only as one got for him selfe a private copy of them; upon sight wherof we manyfested uter dislike, but had put of our estats & were ready to come, and therfore was too late to rejecte y^e vioage. Judge therfore we beseech you indifferently of things, and if a faulte have bene comited, lay it wher it is, & not upon us, who have more cause to stand for y^e one, then you have for y^e other. We never gave Robart Cushman comission to make any one article for us, but only sent him to receive moneys upon articles before agreed on, and to further y^e provissions till John Carver came, and to assiste him in it. Yet since you conceive your selves wronged as well as we, we thought meete to add a branch to y^e end of our 9. article, as will allmost heale that wound of it selfe, which you conceive to be in it. But that it may appeare to all men y^t we are not lovers of our selves only, but desire also y^e good & inriching of our freinds who have ad-

* For "the chief and principal differences" between the articles on pages 45 and 46, and the "former conditions," see page 47. Hubbard, who evidently used this History, has a singular error

in the fifth article of his copy of these conditions. See Hubbard's New England, pp. 48, 49, and Young, pp. 81-83.—ED.

ventured your moneys with our persons, we have added our last article to y^e rest, promising you againe by leters in y^e behalfe of the whole company, that if large profits should not arise within y^e 7. years, y^t we will continue togeather longer with you, if y^e Lord give a blessing.* This we hope is sullicente to satisfie any in this case, espetially freinds, since we are asured y^t if the whole charge was devided into 4. parts, 3. of them will not stand upon it, netheir doe regarde it, &c. We are in shuch a streate at presente, as we are forced to sell away 60^{li} worth of our provissions to cleare y^e Haven, & withall put our selves upon great extremities, scarce haveing any butter, no oyle, not a sole to mend a shoe, [39] nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets, much armour, &c. And yet we are willing to expose our selves to shuch eminent dangers as are like to insue, & trust to y^e good providence of God, rather then his name & truth should be evill spoken of for us. Thus saluting all of you in love, and beseeching y^e Lord to give a blessing to our endeavore, and keepe all our harts in y^e bonds of peace & love, we take leave & rest,

Yours, &c.

Aug. 3. 1620.

It was subscribed with many names of y^e cheefest of y^e company.

At their parting M^r. Robinson write a leter to y^e whole company, which though it hath already bene printed,† yet I thought good here likewise to inserte it; as also a breefe leter writ at y^e same time to M^r. Carver, in which y^e tender love & godly care of a true pastor appears.

My dear Brother, — I received inclosed in your last leter y^e note of information, w^{ch} I shall carefully keepe & make use of as ther shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexitie of mind & toyle of body, but I hope that you who have allways been able so plentifully to administer comforte unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for your selfe as that farr greater difficulties then you have yet undergone (though I

* It was well for them y^t this was not accepted.

† The "letter to the whole company," on pages 64 - 67, was printed in

1622, in Mourt's Relation. It was subsequently printed in Morton's Memorial. — Ed.

conceive them to have been great enough) cannot oppresse you, though they press you, as y^e Apostle speaks. The spirite of a man (sustained by y^e spirite of God) will sustaine his infirmitie, I dout not so will yours. And y^e beter much when you shall injoye y^e presence & help of so many godly & wise bretheren, for y^e bearing of part of your burthen, who also will not admitte into their harts y^e least thought of suspition of any y^e least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you, what so ever they thinke in others. Now what shall I say or write unto you & your goodwife my loving sister? even only this, I desire (& allways shall) unto you from y^e Lord, as unto my owne soule; and assure your selfe y^t my harte is with you, and that I will not forslowe my bodily coming at y^e first opportunitie. I have writen a large leter to y^e whole, and am sorie I shall not rather speak then write to them; & the more, considering y^e wante of a preacher, which I shall also make sume spurr to my hastening after you. I doe ever comend my best affection unto you, which if I thought you made any doubte of, I would express in more, & y^e same more ample & full words. And y^e Lord in whom you trust & whom you serve ever in this bussines & journey, guid you with his hand, protecte you with his winge, and shew you & us his salvation in y^e end, & bring us in y^e mean while together in y^e place desired, if shuch be his good will, for his Christs sake. Amen.

Yours, &c.

July 27. 1620.

Jo: R.

This was y^e last letter y^t M^r. Carver lived to see from him. The other follows.

* Lovinge Christian friends, I doe hartily & in y^e Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am presente in my best affection, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absente from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willingly, & much rather then otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessitie held back for y^e present. Make accounte of me in y^e mean while, as of a man devided in my selfe with great paine, and as (naturall bonds set a side) having my beter parte with [40] you. And though I doubt not

* This letter is omitted in Governor Bradford's *Collection of Letters*. — Prince.

but in your godly wisdoms, you both foresee & resolve upon y^t which concerneth your present state & condition, both severally & joyntly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some furdur spurr of provocation unto them, who rune allready, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love & dutie. And first, as we are daly to renew our repentance with our God, espetially for our sines known, and generally for our unknowne trespasses, so doth y^e Lord call us in a singuler maner upon occasions of shuch difficultie & danger as lieth upon you, to a both more narrow search & carefull reformation of your ways in his sight; least he, calling to remembrance our sines forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, & in judgmente leave us for y^e same to be swallowed up in one danger or other; wheras, on the contrary, sine being taken away by earnest repentance & y^e pardon therof from y^e Lord sealed up unto a mans conscience by his spirite, great shall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweete his comforts in all distresses, with hapie deliverance from all evill, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God & our owne consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lieth, espetially with our associats, & for y^t watchfullnes must be had, that we neither at all in our selves doe give, no nor easily take offence being given by others. Woe be unto y^e world for offences, for though it be necessarie (considering y^e malice of Satan & mans corruption) that offences come, yet woe unto y^e man or woman either by whom y^e offence cometh, saith Christ, Mat. 18. 7. And if offences in y^e unseasonable use of things in them selves indifferent, be more to be feared then death itselfe, as y^e Apostle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things simply evill, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded. Neither yet is it sufficiente y^t we keepe our selves by y^e grace of God from giving offence, exepte withall we be armed against y^e taking of them when they be given by others. For how unperfect & lame is y^e work of grace in y^t person, who wants charritie to cover a multitude of offences, as y^e scriptures speake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon y^e comone grounds of Christianitie, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either wante charitie, to cover offences, or wisdom duly to waigh humane frailtie; or lastly, are grosse, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Mat. 7.

1, 2, 3, as indeed in my owne experience, few or none have bene found which sooner give offence, then shuch as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound & profitable members in societies, which have nurished this touchey humor. But besids these, ther are diverse motives provoking you above others to great care & conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to y^e persons, so to y^e infirmities one of another, & so stand in neede of more watchfullnes this way, least when shuch things fall out in men & women as you suspected not, you be inordinatly affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdome & charitie for y^e covering & preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civill comunitie will minister continuall occasion of offence, & will be as fuell for that fire, excepte you dilligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causlesly or easilie at mens doings be so carefully to be avoyded, how much more heed is to be taken y^t we take not offence at God him selfe, which yet we certainly doe so oftē as we doe murmure at his providence in our crosses, or beare impatiently shuch afflictions as wherwith he pleaseth to visite us. Store up therfore patience against y^e evill day, without which we take offence at y^e Lord him selfe in his holy & just works.

A 4. thing ther is carefully to be provided for, to witte, that with your comōne imployments you joyne comōne affections truly bente upon y^e generall good, avoyding as a deadly [41] plague of your both comōne & spetiall comfort all retirednes of minde for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any maner of way; let every man represe in him selfe & y^e whol body in each person, as so many rebels against y^e comōne good, all private respects of mens selves, not sorting with y^e generall conveniencie. And as men are carfull not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled & y^e parts firmly knite, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more carfull, y^t the house of God which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessarie novelties or other oppositions at y^e first settling therof.

Lastly, wheras you are become a body politik, using amongst your selves civill govermente, and are not furnished with any persons of spetiall eminencie above y^e rest, to be chosen by you into office of goverment, let your wisdome & godlines appeare, not only in chusing shuch persons as doe entirely love and will

promote y^e comōne good, but also in yeelding unto them all due honour & obedience in their lawfull administrations; not behoulding in them y^e ordinarinesse of their persons, but Gods ordinance for your good, not being like y^e foolish multitude who more honour y^e gay coate, then either y^e vertuous minde of y^e man, or glorious ordinance of y^e Lord. But you know better things, & that y^e image of y^e Lords power & authoritie which y^e magistrate beareth, is honourable, in how meane persons soever. And this dutie you both may y^e more willingly and ought y^e more conscionably to performe, because you are at least for y^e present to have only them for your ordinarie governours, which your selves shall make choyse of for that worke.

Sundrie other things of importance I could put you in minde of, and of those before mentioned, in more words, but I will not so farr wrong your godly minds as to thinke you heedless of these things, ther being also diuerce among you so well able to admonish both them selves & others of what concerneth them. These few things therfore, & y^e same in few words, I doe earnestly comēd unto your care & conscience, joyning therwith my daily incessante prayers unto y^e Lord, y^t he who hath made y^e heavens & y^e earth, y^e sea and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his workes, espetially over all his dear children for good, wculd so guide & gard you in your wayes, as inwardly by his Spirite, so outwardly by y^e hand of his power, as y^t both you & we also, for & with you, may have after matter of praising his name all y^e days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whōm I rest.

An unfained wellwiller of your hapie
success in this hopefull voyage,

JOHN ROBINSON.

This letter, though large, yet being so frutfull in it selfe, and suitable to their occation, I thought meete to inserte in this place.*

All things being now ready, & every bussines dispatched, the company was caled together, and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all, and after fruit with many. Then they ordered & distributed

* This letter bears no date, but it in which Robinson speaks of having
was doubtless written about the same "written a letter to the whole." — Ed.
time as the one to Carver, preceding,

their company for either shipe, as they conceivd for y^e best. And chose a Gov^r & 2. or 3. assistants for each shipe, to order y^e people by y^e way, and see to y^e disposing of there provissions, and shuch like affairs. All which was not only with y^e liking of y^e maisters of y^e ships, but according to their desires. Which being done, they sett sayle from thence aboute y^e 5. of August; but what befell them further upon y^e coast of England will appeare in y^e nexte chapter.

The 8. Chap.

Off the troubles that befell them on the coaste, and at sea, being forced, after much trouble, to leave one of their ships & some of their companie behind them.

[42] BEING thus put to sea they had not gone farr, but M^r. Reynolds y^e m^r. of y^e lesser ship complained that he found his ship so leak as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So y^e m^r. of y^e bigger ship (caled M^r. Joans) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth & have her ther searched & mended, which accordingly was done, to their great charg & losse of time and a faire winde. She was hear thorowly searcht from steme to sterne, some leaks were found & mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen & all, that she was sufficiente, & they might proceede without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea againe,* conceiving they should goe comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out

* Smith, who speaks of but one embarkation prior to the final sailing of the Mayflower from Plymouth on the 6th of September, says, "they left the coast of England the 23d of August, with about 120 persons." Bradford gives no dates in the narrative as to the time when they put into Dartmouth, or when they departed thence. Cush-

man, on page 71, in a letter written from Dartmouth to a friend in London, dated Aug. 17th, says, "We lie here waiting for her [the Speedwell, which was being "mended"] in as fair a wind as can blow, and so have done these four days, and are like to lie *four* more," &c. From this passage Prince doubtless gathered his dates, where he says,

otherwise, for after they were gone to sea againe above 100. leagues without the Lands End, houlding company togeather all this while, the m^r. of y^e small ship complained his ship was so leake* as he must beare up or sinke at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consultation againe, and resolved both ships to bear up backe againe & put into Plimoth, which accordingly was done. But no spetiall leake could be founde, but it was judged to be y^e generall weaknes of y^e shipe, and that shee would not prove sufficiente for the voiage. Upon which it was resolved to dismise her & parte of y^e companie, and proceede with y^e other shipe. The which (though it was greivous, & caused great discouragemente) was put in execution. So after they had tooke out such provission as y^e other ship could well stow, and concluded both what number and what persons to send bak, they made another sad parting, y^e one ship going backe for London, and y^e other was to proceede on her viage. Those that went bak were for the most parte such as were willing so to doe, either out of some discontente, or feare they conceived of y^e ill success of y^e vioage,† seeing so many croses befale, & the year time so farr spent; but others, in regarde of their owne weaknes, and charge of many yonge children, were thought least usefull, and most unfite to bear y^e brunte of this hard adventure; unto which worke of God, and judgmente of their brethern, they were contented to submite. And thus, like Gedions armie, this small number was devided,

* "they put into Dartmouth about Aug. 13"; and "about Aug. 21 they set sail again." This latter date is of course somewhat conjectural, and that given by Smith, above quoted, may be the correct one. See *New England's Trials*, p. 16, 2d ed., London, 1622; Prince 1. 71. — Ed.

* Smith says, "but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leak that forced their return to Plymouth, where, dis-

charging her and *twenty* passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailors, they set sail again the sixth of September," &c. *New England's Trials*, p. 16. — Ed.

† After this, no one, probably, will share with the late Dr. Young in the enthusiasm with which he repudiates the idea of any *discouragement* on the part of those who "went back." See Young, p. 99, note 1. — Ed.

as if y^e Lord by this worke of his providence thought these few to many for y^e great worke he had to doe. But here by the way let me show, how afterward it was found y^t the leaknes of this ship was partly by being over masted, and too much pressed with sayles; for after she was sould & put into her old trime, she made many viages & performed her service very sufficiently, to y^e great profite of her owners. But more espetially, by the cuning & deceite of y^e m^r. & his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in y^e cuntrie, and now fancying dislike & fearing wante of victeles, they ploted this strategem to free them selves; as afterwards was knowne, & by some of them confessed. For they apprehended y^t the greater ship, being of force, & in whom most of y^e provissions were stowed, she would retayne enough for her selfe, what soever became of them or y^e passengers; & indeed shuch speeches had bene cast out by some of them; and yet, besids other encouragements, y^e cheefe of them that came from Leyden wente in this shipe to give y^e m^r. contente. But so strong was self love & his fears, as he forgott all duty and [43] former kindnesses, & delt thus falsly with them, though he pretended otherwise. Amongest those that returned was M^r. Cushman & his familie, whose hart & courage was gone from them before, as it seems, though his body was with them till now he departed; as may appear by a passionate letter he write to a freind in London from Dartmouth, whilst y^e ship lay ther a mending; the which, besids y^e expressions of his owne fears, it shows much of y^e providence of God working for their good beyonde man's expectation, & other things concerning their condition in these streats. I will hear relate it. And though it discover some infirmities in him (as who under temtation is free), yet after this he continued to be a spetiall instrumente for their good, and to doe y^e offices of a loving freind & faithfull brother unto them, and pertaker of much comforte with them.

The letter is as followth.

To his loving friend Ed: S.* at Henige House in y^e Duks Place,†
these, &c.

Dartmouth, Aug. 17.

Loving friend, my most kind remembrance to you & your wife, with loving E. M. &c. whom in this world I never looke to see againe. For besides y^e eminent dangers of this viage, which are no less then deadly, an infirmitie of body hath ceased me, which will not in all lic^elyhoode leave me till death. What to call it I know not, but it is a bundle of lead, as it were, crushing my harte more & more these 14. days, as that although I doe y^e acc^tions of a liveing man, yet I am but as dead; but y^e will of God be done. Our pinass will not cease leaking, els I thinke we had been halfe way at Virginia, our viage hither hath been as full of crosses, as our selves have been of crokednes. We put in hear to triūe her, & I thinke, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but 3. or 4. howers more, shee would have sunke right downe. And though she was twise triūed at Hamton, yet now shee is open and leakie as a seive; and ther was a borde, a man might have puld of with his fingers, 2. foote longe, wher y^e water came in as at a mole hole. We lay at Hamton 7. days, in fair weather, waiting for her, and now we lye hear waiting for her in as faire a wind as can blowe, and so have done these 4. days, and are like to lye 4. more, and by y^t time y^e wind will happily turne as it did at Hampton. Our

* In Governor Bradford's *Collection of Letters*, this is Edward Southworth. — Prince.

The person to whom this letter is addressed is doubtless the Edward Southworth whose widow, Alice, was afterwards married to Governor Bradford, the author of this History. See the verses to her memory in the Appendix. Mr. Hunter says that "the Southworths were eminently a Basset-Lawe family." (The reader of his *Founders of New Plymouth* will recollect that Basset-Lawe is the Hundred in which is situated the village of Serooby, where Robinson's church was located while in England.) He says, that "in the Visitation of Nottinghamshire, in 1614, an Edward Southworth was then living, but so little did he care for such things, that all the account of his family which he gave to the Herald was, that he was the son of Robert

Southworth, the son of Richard, the son of Aymond, who lived at Wellam in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. From another source we know that one of the family, a Mr. Robert Southworth, consorted with the extreme Puritans, who were going the way of separation." He thinks "we cannot err if we claim some of them as lay members of the Serooby church, perhaps this very Mr. Robert Southworth himself." See Prince, I. 140; *Founders of New Plymouth*, pp. 17, 116, 117, 2d ed., 1854. — Ed.

† Duke's Place is in London. See Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 146. Mr. Hunter, in a manuscript note, writes, "'Henige House' I do not know. It was probably the town residence of the family of Heneage. There is still an Heneage Court near Duke's Place in London." — Ed.

victualls will be halfe eaten up, I thinke, before we goe from the coaste of England, and if our viage last longe, we shall not have a months victualls when we come in y^e countrie. Neare 700^{li} hath bene bestowed at Hampton, upon what I know not. Mr. Martin saith he neither can nor will give any accounte of it, and if he be called upon for accounts he crieth out of unthankfullnes for his paines & care, that we are susspicious of him, and flings away, & will end nothing. Also he so insultch over our poore people, with shuch scorne & contempte, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your hart to see his dealing,* and y^e mourning of our people. They complaine to me, & alas! I can doe nothing for them; if I speake to him, he flies in my face, as mutinous, and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by him selfe, and saith they are frowarde, & waspish, discontented people, & I doe ill to hear them. Ther are others y^t would lose all they have put in, or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might departe; but he will not hear them, nor suffer them to goe ashore, least they should rune away. The sailors also are so offended at his ignorante bouldnes, in meddling & controuling in things he knows not what belongs too, as y^t some threaten to misscheefe him, others say they will leave y^e shipe & goe their way. But at y^e best this cometh of it, y^t he maks him selfe a scorne & laughing stock unto them. As for Mr. Weston, excepte grace doe greatly swaye with him, he will hate us ten times more then ever he loved us, for not confirming y^e conditions. But now, since some pinches have taken them, they begine to reveile y^e trueth, & say Mr. Robinson was in y^e falte who charged them never to consente to those conditions, nor chuse me into office, but indeede apointed them to chose them they did chose.† But he & they will rue too late, they may [44] now see, & all be ashamed when it is too late, that they were so ignorante, yea, & so inordinate in their courses. I am sure as they were resolved not to seale those conditions, I was not so resolute at Hampton to have left y^e whole bussines, excepte they would seale them, & better y^e vioage to have bene broken of then, then to have brought such miserie to our selves, dishonour to God, & detrimentē to our loving freinds, as now it

* He was governour in y^e bigger ship,
& Mr. Cushman assistante.

† I thinke he was deceived in these things.

is like to doe. 4. or 5. of y^e cheefe of them which came from Leyden, came resolved never to goe on those conditions. And Mr. Martine, he said he never received no money on those conditions, he was not beholden to y^e marchants for a pine, they were bloudsuckers, & I know not what. Simple man, he indeed never made any conditions wth the marchants, nor ever spake with them. But did all that money flie to Hampton, or was it his owne? Who will goe & lay out money so rashly & lavishly as he did, and never know how he comes by it, or on what conditions? 2^{ly}. I tould him of y^e alteration longe agoe, & he was contente; but now he dominires, & said I had betrayed them into y^e hands of slaves; he is not beholden to them, he can set out 2. ships him selfe to a viage. When, good man? He hath but 50^{li}. in, & if he should give up his accounts he would not have a penie left him, as I am persuaded,* &c. Freind, if ever we make a plantation, God works a mirakle; especially considering how scante we shall be of victualls, and most of all ununited amongst our selves, & devoyd of good tutors & regimente. Violence will break all. Wher is y^e meek & humble spirite of Moyses? & of Nehemiah who reedified y^e wals of Jerusalem, & y^e state of Israell? Is not y^e sound of Rehoboams braggs daly hear amongst us? Have not y^e philosiphers and all wise men observed y^t, even in settled comōne welths, violente governours bring either them selves, or people, or boath, to ruine; how much more in y^e raising of comōne wealths, when y^e mortar is yet scarce tempered y^t should bind y^e wales. If I should write to you of all things which promiscuously forerune our ruine, I should over charge my weake head and greeve your tender hart; only this, I pray you prepare for evill tidings of us every day. But pray for us instantly, it may be y^e Lord will be yet entreated one way or other to make for us. I see not in reason how we shall escape even y^e gasping of hunger starved persons; but God can doe much, & his will be done. It is better for me to dye, then now for me to bear it, which I doe daly, & expecte it howerly; haveing received y^e sentance of death, both within me & without me. Poore William King & my selfe doe strive† who shall be meate first for y^e fishes; but we looke for a glorious resurrection, knowing Christ Jesus after

* This was found true afterward. dayly," but a pen has been drawn

† In the manuscript it is "strive through the latter word. — Ed.

y^e flesh no more, but looking unto y^e joye y^t is before us, we will endure all these things and accounte them light in comparison of y^t joye we hope for. Remember me in all love to our freinds as if I named them, whose praiera I desire earnestly, & wish againe to see, but not till I can with more comforte looke them in y^e face. The Lord give us that true comforte which none can take from us. I had a desire to make a breefe relation of our estate to some freind. I doubte not but your wisdom will teach you seasonably to utter things as here after you shall be called to it. That which I have writen is treue, & many things more which I have forborne. I write it as upon my life, and last confession in England. What is of use to be spoken [45] of presently, you may speake of it, and what is fitt to conceile, conceall. Pass by my weake maner, for my head is weake, & my body feeble, y^e Lord make me strong in him, & keepe both you & yours.

Your loving freind,

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

Dartmouth, Aug. 17. 1620.

These being his conceptions & fears at Dartmouth, they must needs be much stronger now at Plimoth.

The 9. Chap.

Of their vioage, & how they passed y^e sea, and of their safe arrivall at Cape Codd.

SEPT^r: 6. These troubls being blowne over, and now all being compacte together in one shipe,* they put to sea againe with a prosperus winde, which continued diverce days together, which was some encouragment unto them; yet according to y^e usuall maner many were afflicted with sea-sicknes. And I may not omite hear a spetiall worke of Gods providence. Ther was a proud & very profane yonge man, one of y^e sea-men, of a lustie, able body, which made him the more hauty; he would allway be

* For Governor Bradford's list of passengers in the Mayflower, see Appendix, No. I. — Ed.

contemning y^e poore people in their sicknes, & cursing them dayly with greēous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast halfe of them over board before they came to their jurneys end, and to make mery with what they had ; and if he were by any gently reprovēd, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it plased God before they came halfe seas over, to smite this yong man with a greeveous disease, of which he dyed in a desperate maner, and so was him selfe y^e first y^t was throwne overbord. Thus his curses light on his owne head ; and it was an astonishmente to all his fellows, for they noted it to be y^e just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoyed faire winds and weather for a season, they were incountred many times with crosse winds, and mette with many feirce stormes, with which y^e shipe was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leakie ; and one of the maine beames in y^e midd ships was bowed & craked, which put them in some fear that y^e shipe could not be able to performe y^e vioage. So some of y^e cheefe of y^e company, perceiveing y^e mariners to feare y^e suffisiencie of y^e shipe, as appeared by their mutterings, they entred into serious consulltation with y^e m^r. & other officers of y^e ship, to consider in time of y^e danger ; and rather to retorne then to cast them selves into a desperate & inevitable perill. And truly ther was great distraction & differance of opinion amongst y^e mariners them selves ; faine would they doe what could be done for their wages sake, (being now halfe the seas over,) and on y^e other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperatly. But in examening of all opinions, the m^r. & others affirmed they knew y^e ship to be stronge & firme under water ; and for the buckling of y^e maine beame, ther was a great iron scrue y^e passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise y^e beame into his place ; y^e which being done, the carpenter & m^r. affirmed that with a post put under it, set firme in y^e lower deck,

& otherways bounde, he would make it sufficiente. And as for y^e decks & uper workes they would calke them as well as they could, and though with y^e workeing of y^e ship they would not longe keepe stanch, yet ther would otherwise be no great danger, if they [46] did not overpress her with sails. So they comited them selves to y^e will of God, & resolved to proceede. In sundrie of these stormes the winds were so feirce, & y^e seas so high, as they could not beare a knote of saile, but were forced to hull, for diuerce days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storme, a lustie yonge man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above y^e grattings, was, with a seele* of y^e shipe throwne into [y^e] sea; but it pleased God y^t he caught hould of y^e tope-saile halliards, which hunge over board, & rane out at length; yet he held his hould (though he was sundrie fadomes under water) till he was hald up by y^e same rope to y^e brime of y^e water, and then with a boat hooke & other means got into y^e shipe againe, & his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church & comone wealthe. In all this viage ther died but one of y^e passengers, which was William Batten, a youth, servant to Samuell Fuller, when they drew near y^e coast.† But to omite other things, (that I may be breefe,) after longe beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; ‡ the which being made & certainly knowne to be it, they were not a litle joyfull.

* "*Seele* (with the sailors) is when a ship rolls or is tossed about very suddenly and violently with or by the force of the waves." Dyche's Dictionary. — Ed.

† He died November 6th. See Prince, I. 72, who cites Governor Bradford's Pocket Book, which contained a Register of deaths, &c., from November 6, 1620, to the end of March, 1621. — Ed.

‡ "Upon the 9th of November, by

break of day, we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved." See Mourt's Relation, (or, as Dr. Young styles it, Bradford and Winslow's Journal,) in Young, p. 117. There is good reason for believing that Bradford wrote the earlier portion of this tract, many passages in it being almost identical with passages in this History. See also Young, p. 115, note 1. — Ed.

After some deliberation had amongst them selves & with y^e m^l. of y^e ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stande for y^e southward (y^e wind & weather being faire) to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for their habitation. But after they had sailed y^t course aboute halfe y^e day, they fell amongst deangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger; & y^e wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them selves hapy to gett out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by Gods providence they did. And y^e next day they gott into y^e Cape-harbor wher they ridd in saftie.* A word or too by y^e way of this cape; it was thus first named by Capten Gosnole & his company,† An^o: 1602, and after by Capten Smith was caled Cape James; but it retains y^e former name amongst sea-men. Also y^t pointe which first shewed those dangerous shoulds unto them, they called Pointe Care, & Tuckers Terrour; ‡ but y^e French & Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoulds, and y^e losses they have suffered their.

* "Upon the 11th of November we came to an anchor in the bay," &c. "The same day, so soon as we could, we set ashore fifteen or sixteen men." Mourt, in Young, pp. 117, 118, 122. See also page 80 of this History. It appears, therefore, that the Mayflower was sixty-five days on the passage from Plymouth (England) to Cape Cod, leaving the former place on the 6th of September. By reference to Governor Bradford's list of passengers, in the Appendix, it will be seen that ONE HUNDRED AND TWO *passengers*, including servants and all those who came over in the employ of the colonists, sailed from Plymouth in the Mayflower, at the final embarkation; and that the same number arrived at Cape Cod. William Butten, a servant of Samuel Peller, died on the passage, but the integrity of the number was preserved by the birth of Oceanus Hopkins. Prince, who compiled his list of passen-

gers from Governor Bradford's list, appears to have omitted two of the number, Trevore and Ely. Prince's list, it will be seen, adds up 101, but it includes both the servant who died and the child born on the passage, but one of whom should be enumerated. There were four deaths and one birth after the arrival at Cape Cod, and before the landing of the exploring party in the shallop, at Plymouth, on the 11th of December. See Prince, I. 76, 86.—Ed.

† Because y^{ey} tooke much of y^t fishe ther.

‡ "Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we desiered a point with some breach, a good distance off, and keeping our luff to double it, we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach we called Tuckers's Terror, upon his expressing fear. The point we named Point Care." Archer's Relation of Gosnold's Voyage, in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 74.—Ed.

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed y^e God of heaven, who had brought them over y^e vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all y^e periles & miseries therof, againe to set their feete on y^e firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on y^e coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed,* that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadfull was y^e same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers [47] y^e same. Being thus passed y^e vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembred by y^t which wente before), they had now no freinds to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure.† It is recorded in scripture‡ as a mercie to y^e apostle & his shipwreaked company, y^t the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for y^e season it was winter, and they that know y^e winters of y^t cuntrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts & wildd men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not.

* Epist: 53.

† “For, besides the natives, the nearest plantation to them is a French one at Port Royal, who have another at Canada. And the only English ones

are at Virginia, Bermudas, and Newfoundland; the nearest of these about 500 miles off, and every one uncapable of helping them.” Prince, l. 94. — Ed.

‡ Act. 28.

Nether could they, as it were, goe up to y^e tope of Pisgah, to vew from this willdernes a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to y^e heavens) they could have litle solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sūmer being done, all things stand upon them with a wether-beaten face; and y^e whole countrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was y^e mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to seperate them from all y^e civill parts of y^e world. If it be said they had a ship to sucour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from y^e m^r. & company? but y^t with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for y^e season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considred what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, y^t might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, y^e affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them, but they had litle power to help them, or them selves; and how y^e case stode betweene them & y^e marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but y^e spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this willdernes* ;*

* Deu: 26. 5, 7.

but they cried unto y^e Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c. Let them therefore praise y^e Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of y^e Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from y^e hand of y^e oppressour. When they wandered in y^e deserte wilddernes out of y^e way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie, & thirstie, their soule was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before y^e Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderfull works before y^e sons of men.†*

The 10. Chap.

Showing how they sought out a place of habitation, and what befell them therabout.

[48] BEING thus arrived at Cap-Codd y^e 11. of November, and necessitie calling them to looke out a place for habitation, (as well as the maisters & mariners importunitie,) they having brought a large shalop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in y^e ship, they now gott her out & sett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much brused & shatered in y^e shipe wth foule weather, they saw she would be longe in mending. Wherupon a few of them tendered them selves to goe by land and discovere those nearest places, whilst y^e shallop was in mending; and y^e rather because as they wente into y^t harbor ther seemed to be an opening some 2. or 3. leagues of, which y^e maister judged to be a river. It was con-

* 107 Psa: v. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8.

† The preceeding chapters embrace that portion of this History which Dr. Young published in the *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, from the copy made by Secretary Morton in the Plymouth Church Records. Morton's copy contained large and important omissions, as will be seen by a collation. The

first twenty-six pages of the original manuscript, ending on page 42 of this printed volume, were copied almost entire, though not with verbal accuracy throughout. Greater liberties were taken with the remaining portion. Morton was compiling a church history, and admits that he made omissions. See page 196, note *. — Ed.

ceived ther might be some danger in y^e attempte, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to goe, being 16. of them well armed, under y^e conduct of Captain Standish,* having shuch instructions given them as was thought meete. They sett forth y^e 15. of Nove^{br}: and when they had marched aboute y^e space of a mile by y^e sea side,† they espied 5. or 6. persons with a dogg coming towards them, who were salvages; but they fled from them, & rane up into y^e woods, and y^e English followed them, partly to see if they could speake with them, and partly to discover if ther might not be more of them lying in ambush. But y^e Indeans seeing them selves thus followed, they againe forsooke the woods, & rane away on y^e sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by y^e tracte of their feet sundrie miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their randevous & set out ther sentinels, and rested in quiete *y^e night*, and the next morning ‡ followed their tracte till they had headed a great creak, & so left the sands, & turned an other way into y^e woods. But they still followed them by geuss, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soone lost both them & them selves, falling into shuch thickets as were ready to tear their cloaths & armore in peeces, but were most distressed for wante of drinke. But at length they found water & refreshed them selves, being y^e first New-England water they drunke of, and was now in thir great thirste as pleasante unto them as wine or bear had been in for-times. Afterwards they directed their course to come to y^e other [49] shore, for they knew it was a necke of land they

* "Unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advise, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley." Mourt, in Young, pp. 125, 126. Standish's name appears now for the first time in this History. Bradford's account here of their explorations on the Cape, prior to the landing at Plymouth, is much more brief and less minute

than that in Mourt's Relation. Both are doubtless from the same pen. — Ed.

† The Mayflower is supposed to have anchored within less than a furlong of the end of Long Point, at which place the men were probably set ashore. See Young, pp. 120, 127, notes; also Mourt, in Young, p. 150. — Ed.

‡ November 16th. — Ed.

were to crosse over, and so at length gott to y^e sea-side. and marched to this supposed river, & by y^e way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantitie of clear ground wher y^e Indeans had formerly set corne, and some of their graves. And proceeding further they saw new-stuble wher corne had been set y^e same year, also they found wher latly a house had been, wher some planks and a great kettle* was remaining, and heaps of sand newly padled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverce faire Indean baskets filled with corne, and some in eares, faire and good, of diverce colours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (haveing never seen any shuch before). This was near y^e place of that supposed river they came to seeck; unto which they wente and found it to open it selfe into 2. armes with a high cliffe of sand in y^e enterance, but more like to be crikes of salte water then any fresh, for ought they saw; and that ther was good harborige for their shalope;† leaving it further to be discovered by their shalop when she was ready. So their time limeted them being expired, they returned to y^e ship, least they should be in fear of their saftie; and tooke with them parte of y^e corne, and buried up y^e rest, and so like y^e men from Eshcoll carried with them of y^e fruits of y^e land, & showed their breethren; of which, & their returne,‡ they were marvelusly glad, and their harts encouraged.

After this, y^e shalop being got ready, they set out againe for y^e better discovery of this place, & y^e m^r. of y^e ship desired to goe him selfe, so ther went some 30. men,§ but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats; ther

* "Which had been some ship's kettle, and brought out of Europe." Mourt, in Young, p. 133. — Ed.

† Panet River. See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 203–239, where is printed that portion of Mourt's Relation found in Purchas, edited, with notes, by Rev. Dr. Freeman, whose acquaintance with the place enabled him to trace minutely

the routes of these early exploring parties. Dr. Young's notes to his edition of Mourt may also be consulted with even more advantage. — Ed.

‡ Their return was on the 17th. See Mourt, in Young, p. 136. — Ed.

§ "About four and thirty men," including ten of the ship's crew. Mourt, in Young, p. 138. — Ed.

was also found 2. of their houses covered with matts, & sundrie of their implements in them, but y^e people were rune away & could not be seen; also ther was found more of their corne, & of their beans of various collours. The corne & beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meete with any of them (as about some 6. months afterward they did, to their good contente). And here is to be noted a spetiall providence of God, and a great mercie to this poore people, that hear they gott seed to plant them corne y^e next year, or els they might have starved, for they had none, nor any liklyhood to get any [50] till y^e season had beene past (as y^e sequell did manyfest). Neither is it lickly they had had this, if y^e first viage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, & hard frozen. But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest needs; let his holy name have all y^e praise.

The month of November being spente in these affairs, & much foule weather falling in, the 6. of *Desem^r*: they sente out their shallop againe with 10. of their principall men, & some sea men,* upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deepe bay of Cap-codd. The weather was very could, & it frose so hard as y^e sprea of y^e sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glased; yet *that night* betimes they gott downe into y^e botome of y^e bay, and as they drue nere y^e shore they saw some 10. or 12. Indeans very busie aboute some thing. They landed aboute a league or 2. from them, and had much a doe to put a shore any wher, it lay so full of flats.† Being land-

* "To wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Houland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Steeven Hopkins, and Edward Dotte, and two of our seamen, John Alderton and Thomas English. Of the ship's company there went two of the master's mates, Master Clarke and Master Coppin, the master gunner,

and three sailors." Mourt, in Young, pp. 149, 150. Alderton and English were not of the Mayflower's crew. They were both hired, the one to go master of a shallop here, and the other was to go back for the help of those behind. See the list of passengers in the Mayflower, in the Appendix, No. I. — Ed.

† Being obliged to wade "oft to the knees" during this cold weather, pass-

ed, it grew late, and they made them selves a barricade with loggs & bowes as well as they could in y^e time, & set out their sentenill & betooke them to rest, and saw y^e smoake of y^e fire y^e savages made y^t night. When *morn-ing* was come * they devided their company, some to coast alonge y^e shore in y^e boate, and the rest marched throw y^e woods to see y^e land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came allso to y^e place wher they saw the Indans y^e night before, & found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2. inches thike of fate like a hogg, some peeces wher of they had left by y^e way; and y^e shallop found 2. more of these fishes dead on y^e sands, a thing usuall after storms in y^t place, by reason of y^e great flats of sand that lye of. So they ranged up and doune all y^t day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When y^e sune grue low, they hasted out of y^e woods to meete with their shallop, to whom they made signes to come to them into a *creeke* hardby, the which they did at highwater; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all y^t day, since y^e morning. So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with loggs, staks, & thike pine bowes, y^e height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from y^e could & wind (making their fire in y^e midle, & lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of y^e savags, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betooke them to rest. But aboute *midnight*, [51] they heard a hideous & great crie, and their sentinell caled, "Arme, arme"; so they bestired them & stood to their armes, & shote of a cupple of moskets, and then the noys seased. They concluded it was a companie of wolves, or such like willd beasts; for one of y^e sea men tould them

ing to and from their boat, "it brought to the most, if not all, coughs and colds, which afterwards turned to scurvy,

whereof many died." Mourt, in Young, p. 138. — ED.

* December 7th. — ED.

he had often heard shuch a noyse in New-found land. So they rested till about 5. of y^e clock in the *morning* ;* for y^e tide, & ther purpuss to goe from thence, made them be stiring betimes. So after praier they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carring things downe to y^e boate. But some said it was not best to carrie y^e armes downe, others said they would be the readier, for they had laped them up in their coats from y^e dew. But some 3. or 4. would not cary theirs till they wente them selves, yet as it fell out, y^e water being not high enough, they layed them downe on y^e banke side, & came up to breakfast. But presently, all on y^e sudain, they heard a great & strange crie, which they knew to be the same voyces they heard in y^e night, though they varied their notes, & one of their company being abroad came runing in, & cried, "Men, Indeans, Indeans"; and wthall, their arowes came flying amongst them. Their men rane with all speed to recover their armes, as by y^e good providence of God they did. In y^e mean time, of those that were ther ready, tow muskets were discharged at them, & 2. more stood ready in y^e enterance of ther randevoue, but were comanded not to shoote till they could take full aime at them; & y^e other 2. charged againe with all speed, for ther were only 4. had armes ther, & defended y^e baricado which was first assalted. The crie of y^e Indeans was dreadfull, espetially when they saw ther men rune out of y^e randevoue towourds y^e shallop, to recover their armes, the Indeans wheeling aboute upon them. But some runing out with coats of malle on, & cutlasses in their hands, they soone got their armes, & let flye amongs them, and quickly stopped their violence. Yet ther was a lustie man, and no less valiante, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot, and let his arrows flie at them. He was seen shoot 3. arrowes, which were all

avoyded. He stood 3. shot of a musket, till one taking full aime at him, and made y^e barke or splinters of y^e tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shrike, and away they wente all of them. They left some to keep y^e shalop, and followed them aboute a quarter of a mille, and shouted once or twise, and shot of 2. or 3. peces, & so returned. This they did, that they might conceive that they were not [52] affrade of them or any way discouraged. Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enimies, and give them deliverance; and by his spetiall providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurte, or hitt, though their arrows came close by them, & on every side them, and sundry of their coats, which hunge up in y^e barricado, were shot throw & throw. Aterwards they gave God sollamne thanks & praise for their deliverance, & gathered up a bundle of their arrows, & sente them into England afterward by y^e m^r. of y^e ship, and called that place y^e first encounter. From hence they departed, & costed all along, but discerned no place likly for harbor; & therfore hasted to a place that their pillote, (one M^r. Coppin who had bine in y^e cuntrie before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it begane to be foule weather. After some houres sailing, it begane to snow & raine, & about y^e midle of y^e afternoone, y^e wind increased, & y^e sea became very rough, and they broake their rudder, & it was as much as 2. men could doe to steere her with a cupple of oares. But their pillott bad them be of good cheere, for he saw y^e harbor; but y^e storme increasing, & night drawing on, they bore what saile they could to gett in, while they could see. But herwith they broake their mast in 3. peeces, & their saill fell over bord, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by Gods mercie they recovered them selves, & having y^e floud with them, struck into y^e harbore. But when it came too, y^e pillott was

deceived in y^e place, and said, y^e Lord be mercifull unto them, for his eys never saw y^t place before; & he & the m^r. mate would have rune her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before y^e winde. But a lusty seaman which steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or eells they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheere & row lustly, for ther was a faire sound before them, & he doubted not but they should find one place or other wher they might ride in saftie. And though it was *very darke*, and rained sore, yet in y^e end they gott under y^e lee of a smalle iland, and remained ther all y^t night in saftie. But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but were devided in their minds; some would keepe y^e boate for fear they might be amongst y^e Indians; others were so weake and could, they could not endure, but got a shore, & with much adoe got fire, (all things being so wett,) and y^e rest were glad to come to them; for after midnight y^e wind shifted to the [53] north-west, & it frose hard. But though this had been a day & night of much trouble & danger unto them, yet God gave them a *morning* of comforte & refreshing (as usually he doth to his children), for y^e next day was a faire sunshinīg day, and they found them sellvs to be on an iland* secure from y^e Indeanis, wher they might drie their stufe, fixe their peeces, & rest them selves, and gave God thanks for his mercies, in their manifould deliverances. And this being the *last day of y^e weeke*,† they prepared ther to keepe y^e *Sabath*.‡ On Munday they sound- ed y^e harbor, and founde it fitt for shipping; and marched into y^e land,§ & found diverse cornfeilds, & litle runing

* "This was afterwards called Clark's island, because Mr. Clark, the master's mate, first stepped on shore thereon." Morton's Memorial, p. 21. This island was sold by the town, in 1690, to Samuel Lucas, Elkanah Watson, and George Morton, and is now under good cultivation by Mr. Edward Watson.

For a history and description of the island, see Thacher's Plymouth, pp. 82, 153, 158, 330; Russell's Pilgrim Memorials, ed. 1855, pp. 87-90. — Ed.

† Saturday, December 9th. — Ed.

‡ Sunday, December 10th. — Ed.

§ December 11th, celebrated as the day of the landing of the Pilgrims at

brooks, a place (as they supposed) fitt for situation; at least it was y^e best they could find, and y^e season, & their presente necessitie, made them glad to accepte of it. So they returned to their shipp againe with this news to y^e rest of their people, which did much comforte their harts.*

On y^e 15. of *Desem^r*: they wayed anchor to goe to y^e place they had discovered, & came within 2. leagues of it, but were faine to bear up againe; but y^e 16. *day* y^e winde came faire, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And after wards tooke better view of y^e place, and resolved wher to pitch their dwelling; and y^e 25. *day* begane to erecte y^e first house for comone use† to receive them and their goods.

Plymouth. It corresponds to December 21st, new style. By a singular error, the 22d was supposed to be the true "*Forefathers' Day*," and for years has been duly observed as such. In a manuscript note of the late Judge Davis, written in his own copy of his edition of the Memorial, he says: "In 1620, December 11, O. S., corresponded to December 21, N. S. When the anniversary was instituted at Plymouth in 1769, *eleven* days were added for difference of style, instead of *ten*, the true difference. The difference between old and new style then existing was incorrectly assumed in determining the day of celebration." — Ed.

* This exploring party of eighteen persons, six of whom were of the *crew* of the Mayflower, were absent from their companions about a week. They found, on their return, that on the day after their leaving the ship, December 7th, Dorothy, the wife of Bradford, who was with the absent party, fell overboard, and was drowned. See Mather's *Magnalia*, Book II. Chap. I.; Prince, I. 76. — Ed.

† The common house was about twenty feet square; tradition locates it on the south side of Leyden Street, near the declivity of the hill. See Mourt, in Young, p. 173; Thacher's Plymouth, pp. 27, 28.

From the minute journal of their daily proceedings, in Mourt's Relation, we learn that on the 28th of December, as many as could went to work on the hill (Burial Hill), where they proposed to build a platform for their ordnance; and on the same day they proceeded to measure out the grounds for their habitations, having first reduced all the inhabitants to nineteen families. On the 9th of January, they went to labor in the building of their town, in two rows of houses. The houses were built on each side of what is now Leyden Street. The first entry in the first book of the Plymouth Colony Records, is an incomplete list of the "*Meersteads and Garden-Plotes* of those which came first, layed out, 1620." See Mourt, in Young, pp. 169, 170, 173; Hazard's Historical Collections, I. 100. — Ed.

The 2. Booke.

THE rest of this History (if God give me life, & opportunite) I shall, for brevitie sake, handle by way of *annalls*, noting only the heads of principall things, and passages as they fell in order of time, and may seeme to be profitable to know, or to make use of. And this may be as y^e 2. Booke.

The remainder of An^o: 1620.

I SHALL a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being y^e first foundation of their govermente in this place; occasioned partly by y^e discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in y^e ship — That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to comānd them, the patente they had being for Virginia,* and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which y^e Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that shuch an [54] acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

The forme was as followeth.

In y^e name of God, Amen. We whose names are under-written, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by y^e grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of y^e faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for y^e glorie

* See page 41. — Ed.

of God, and advancemente of y^e Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant y^e first colonie in y^e Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in y^e presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of y^e ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for y^e generall good of y^e Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd y^e 11. of November, in y^e year of y^e raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland y^e eighteenth, and of Scotland y^e fiftie fourth. An^o: Dom. 1620.*

After this they chose, or rather confirmed,† Mr. John Carver (a man godly & well approved amongst them) their Governour for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or comone store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulness of winter weather, and sicknes of diverce,‡) and begune some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admitte, they mette and consulted of lawes & orders, both for their civill & military Governement, as y^e necessitie of their condition did require, still adding therunto as urgent occasion in severall times, and as cases did require.

In these hard & difficulte beginings they found some discontents & murmurings arise amongst some, and mu-

* Bradford gives no list here of the signers of this compact. Morton must have had some other authority than this History for the names he has appended to it in the Memorial, or else he supplied them by conjecture from Bradford's list of passengers in the Appendix. If we may suppose this compact to have been signed by all the adult male passengers, it would seem that other names besides those Morton has given should have been included. — Ed.

† See page 99, note †. — Ed.

‡ "Monday, the first of January, we

went betimes to work. We were much hindered in lying so far off from the land, and fain to go as the tide served, that we lost much time; for our ship drew so much water that she lay a mile and almost a half off, though a ship of seventy or eighty tons at high water may come to the shore." Mourt, in Young, p. 171. This tract contains a chronological history of events in the colony down to the latter part of March, and should be read in connection with the narrative in the text. This portion was doubtless from Bradford's pen. — Ed.

tinous speeches & carriags in other ; but they were soone quelled & overcome by y^e wisdome, patience, and just & equall carrage of things by y^e Gov^r and better part, w^{ch} clave faithfully togeather in y^e maine. But that which was most sadd & lamentable was, that in 2. or 3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetially in Jan: & February, being y^e depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts ; being infected with y^e scurvie & [55] other diseases, which this long vioage & their inacomodate condition had brought upon them ; so as ther dyed some times 2. or 3. of a day, in y^e foresaid time ; that of 100. & odd persons, scarce 50. remained.* And of these in y^e time of most distres, ther was but 6. or 7. sound persons, who, to their great comendations be it spoken, 'spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed & uncloathed them ; in a word, did all y^e homly & necessarie offices for them w^{ch} dainty & quesiie stomacks cannot endure to hear named ; and all this willingly & cherfully, without any grudging in y^e least, shewing herein their true love unto their freinds & bretheren. A rare example & worthy to be remembred. Tow of these 7. were M^r. William Brewster, ther reverend Elder, & Myles Standish, ther Captein & military comander, unto whom my selfe, & many others, were much beholden in our low & sicke condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this generall calamity they were not at all infected either with sicknes, or lamnes. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who dyed in this generall

* The bill of mortality, as collected by Prince, from Bradford's pocket-book, is as follows. There died in December, 6; in January, 8; in February, 17; in March, 13; total, *forty-four*. According to Smith, before the arrival of the Fortune, November 9th six more were

added to the list, which would include Carver and his wife, making the number of deaths *fifty*. See also list of passengers in the Appendix, No. I; Prince, I. 80, 98, 103, 104, 105; Smith's New England's 'Trials, p. 16. — Ed.

vissitation, & others yet living, that whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doute not but their recompence is with y^e Lord.

But I may not hear pass by an other remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamitie fell among y^e passengers that were to be left here to plant, and were hasted a shore and made to drinke water, that y^e sea-men might have y^e more bear, and one* in his sicknes desiring but a small cann of beere, it was answered, that if he were their owne father he should have none; the disease begane to fall amongst them also, so as allmost halfe of their company dyed before they went away, and many of their officers and lustyest men, as y^e boatson, gunner, 3. quarter-maisters, the cooke, & others. At w^{ch} y^e m^r. was something stricken and sent to y^e sick a shore and tould y^e Gov^r he should send for beer for them that had need of it, though he drunke water homward bound. But now amongst his company [56] ther was farr another kind of carriage in this miserie then amongst y^e passengers; for they that before had been boone companions in drinking & joyllity in y^e time of their health & wellfare, begane now to deserte one another in this calamitic, saing they would not hasard ther lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins, and so, after they came to dye by it, would doe litle or nothing for them, but if they dyed let them dye. But shuch of y^e passengers as were yet aboard shewed them what mercy they could, w^{ch} made some of their harts relente, as y^e boatson (& some others), who was a prowde yonge man, and would often curse & scofe at y^e passengers; but when he grew weak, they had compassion on him and helped him; then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands, he had abused them in word & deed. O! saith he, you, I now see,

* Which was this author him selfe.

shew your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another lye & dye like doggs. Another lay cursing his wife, saing if it had not ben for her he had never come this unlucky viage, and anone cursing his fellows, saing he had done this & that, for some of them, he had spente so much, & so much, amongst them, and they were now weary of him, and did not help him, having need. Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help him in his weaknes; he went and got a litle spise & made him a mess of meat once or twise, and because he dyed not so soone as he expected, he went amongst his fellows, & swore y^e rogue would cousen him, he would see him choaked before he made him any more meate; and yet y^e pore fellow dyed before morning.

All this while y^e Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show them selves aloofe of, but when any aproached near them, they would rune away. And once they stoale away their tools wher they had been at worke, & were gone to diner. But about y^e 16. of *March* a certaine Indian came bouldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to y^e eastrene parts, wher some English-ships came to flish, with whom he was acquainted, & could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language. He became profitable to them [57] in acquainting them with many things concerning y^e state of y^e cuntry in y^e east-parts wher he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of y^e people hear, of their names, number, & strength; of their situation & distance from this place, and who was cheefe amongst them. His name was *Samaset*; he tould them also of another Indian whos name was *Squanto*, a native of this place, who had been in England & could speake better English then him selfe. Being, after some time of

entertainmente & gifts, dismiss, a while after he came againe, & 5. more with him, & they brought againe all y^e tooles that were stolen away before, and made way for y^e coming of their great Sachem, called *Massasoyt*; who, about 4. or 5. *days after*, came with the cheefe of his freinds & other attendance, with the aforesaid *Squanto*. With whom, after frendly entertainment, & some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this 24. years *) in these terms.†

1. That neither he nor any of his, should injurie or doe hurte to any of their peopl.

2. That if any of his did any hurte to any of theirs, he should send y^e offender, that they might punish him.

3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should doe y^e like to his.

4. If any did unjustly warr against him, they would aide him; if any did warr against them, he should aide them.

5. He should send to his neighbours confederats, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in y^e conditions of peace.

6. That when ther men came to them, they should leave their bows & arrows behind them.

After these things he returned to his place caled *Sowams*,‡ some 40. mile from this place, but *Squanto* con-

* Bradford is here writing in 1645. Prince, I. 102, quoting the above, observes, "To which I may add, *Yea*, 30 years longer, viz. to 1675." — Ed.

† An abstract of this treaty is also in Mourt's Relation. The two copies vary in the third and sixth articles. In the third article, in Mourt, the security to the English has reference merely to their *tools*, that they should be restored if taken away by the Indians; and the sixth article is made reciprocal by the addition of the following: "as we should do our pieces when we come to them." There is an additional clause

in Mourt, which, however, can hardly be considered one of the articles to the treaty, viz.: "Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally." — Ed.

‡ The village of Sowams, the residence of Massasoit, was situated upon the spot now occupied by the town of Warren. "The reg on now constituting Bristol, Barrington, and Warren, in Rhode Island, with parts of Swansea and Seekonk, in Massachusetts, was called Pokánoket by the Indians, and was the district occupied by the tribe of Wampanoags, under the imme-

tiued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corne, wher to take fish, and to procure other comodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profit, and never left them till he dyed. He was a *native* [58] of this place, & scarce any left alive besids him selfe.* He was caried away with diuerce others by one *Hunt*,† a m^r. of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spaine; but he got away for England, and was entertained by a marchante ‡ in London, & imployed to New-found-land & other parts, & lastly brought hither into these parts by one M^r. *Dermer*, a gentle-man imployed by St. Ferdinando Gorges & others, for discovery, & other disignes in these parts. Of whom I shall say some thing, because it is mentioned in a booke set forth An^o: 1622. by y^e Presidente & Counsell for New-England,§ that he made y^e peace betweene y^e salvages of these parts & y^e English; of which this plantation, as it is intimated, had y^e benefite. But what a peace it was, may appeare by what befell him & his men.

diate government of Massasoit, whose dominion, however, extended over nearly all the southeastern part of Massachusetts, from Cape Cod to Narragansett Bay." Fessenden's History of Warren, R. I., being a Supplement to Tustin's Dedication Discourse preached at Warren, 1845. — Ed.

* Referring, doubtless, to the destruction of his tribe by the plague, which, by the concurrent testimony of our early writers, spread over nearly the whole of New England, a few years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. — Ed.

† Thomas Hunt was in company with Captain John Smith in his voyage to New England, in 1614, and was master of the ship that "stayed to fit herself for Spain with the dry fish." After Smith had gone, Hunt "betrayed four and twenty of those poor savages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly, for their kind usage of me

and all our men, carried them with him to Malaga, and there for a little private gain sold those silly savages for rials of eight." Smith's Generall Historie, fol. ed., pp. 204, 205. In the Brief Relation of Discovery and Plantation, by the President and Counsell for New England, it is said that Hunt "sold as many as he could get money for. But when it was understood from whence they were brought, the friers of those parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian faith." — Ed.

‡ Master John Slanie, a merchant of London, who was one of the undertakers of the Newfoundland Plantation, and Treasurer of the Company. See New Life of Virginia, in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 226; Mourt, in Young, p. 191. — Ed.

§ Page 17. [This book is printed in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., IX. 1. — Ed.]

This Mr. Dermer was hear the same year that these people came, as apears by a relation written by him, & given me by a freind, bearing date June 30. An^o: 1620. And they came in Novemb^r: following, so ther was but 4. months differance. In which relation to his honored freind, he hath these passages of this very place.

I will first beginne (saith he) wth that place from whence *Squanto*, or *Tisquantem*, was taken away; w^{ch} in Cap: *Smiths mape* is called *Plimoth*:* and I would that Plimoth had y^e like comodities. I would that the first plantation might hear be seated, if ther come to the number of 50. persons, or upward. Otherwise at Charlton,† because ther y^e savages are lese to be feared. The *Pocanawkits*, which live to y^e west of *Plimoth*, bear an inveterate malice to y^e English, and are of more streingth then all y^e savags from thence to Penobscote. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an English man, who having many of them on bord, made a great slaughter with their mur-

* The name of Captain John Smith will always be honorably associated with our early history. His little tract, entitled *A Description of New England*, published in 1616, giving an account of his voyage hither two years before, is the first printed book in which the country, previously styled North Virginia, is called NEW ENGLAND. The map which accompanied it, considering the circumstances under which it was made, is remarkable for its accuracy. It is interesting to notice that many of the names which our towns and cities now rejoice in, are given on his map to prominent places on the coast; though but a few of these places have retained them. Plymouth is an exception, for it still bears the name assigned to the place by Smith. We are not told when the Pilgrims formally adopted it. They must have been familiar with Smith's map, and could not long have been ignorant of the fact, that the spot which they had selected for their plantation bore this name. Morton says, "This name of Plymouth was so called, not only for the reason here named, but also because Plymouth in O. E. was the last town they left in

their native country; and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there." The place was at an early period called *New Plymouth*. In William Hilton's letter written from this place, in 1621, it is so styled; and it became the legal designation of the colony. As their numbers increased, and towns began to spring up within the jurisdiction, the early place of settlement, as a town, was called Plymouth, while the colony or plantation was styled New Plymouth. On some of the later impressions of Smith's map, issued in some of his other works, after the establishment of this colony, the word "New" is engraved over the name Plymouth. See Smith's *Description of New England*; also his *New England's Trials*, 2d ed., pp. 15, 16; Rich's *Catalogue of Books relating to America*, London, 1832, p. 34; Morton's *Memorial*, p. 25; *Plymouth Colony Laws*, Brigham's ed., pp. 22-38. — Ed.

† On some of the later editions of Smith's map, issued possibly in 1631 or 1632, "Charlton" appears on the south side of the River Charles, not far from the mouth. — Ed.

derers & smale shot, when as (they say) they offered no injurie on their parts: Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted; yet they beleve they were, for y^e Frenche have so possest them; for which cause *Squanto* cañot deney but they would have kiled me when I was at *Namasket*,* had he not entreated hard for me. The soyle of y^e borders of [59] this great bay, may be compared to most of y^e plantations which I have scene in Virginia. The land is of diverce sorts; for *Patuxite*† is a hardy but strong soyle, *Nawsel*‡ & *Saughtughtett*§ are for y^e most part a blakish & deep mould, much like that wher groweth y^e best Tobacco in Virginia. In y^e botume of y^t great bay is store of Codd & basse, or mulett, &c.

But above all he comends *Pacanawkite*|| for y^e richest soyle, and much open ground fitt for English graine, &c.

Massachussets is about 9. leagues from *Plimoth*, & situate in y^e mids betweene both, is full of ilands & peninsules very fertill for y^e most parte.

With sundrie shuch relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better knowne then they were to him.

He was taken prisoner by y^e Indeans at *Manamoiak*¶ (a place not farr from hence, now well knowne). He gave them what they demanded for his liberty, but when they had gott what they desired, they kept him still & indevoored to kill his men; but he was freed by seasing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a cannows load of corne. Of which, see Purch: lib. 9. fol. 1778.** But this was An^o: 1619.

After y^e writing of y^e former relation he came to y^e Ile of *Capawack*†† (which lyes south of this place in y^e way to

* In Middleborough. — Ed.

† Plymouth. — Ed.

‡ Nauset, — Eastham. — Ed.

§ Satuket, part of Brewster. — Ed.

|| See page 94, note ‡. — Ed.

¶ Chatham. — Ed.

** Volume IV., in which is a letter from Dermer, dated December 27, 1619, six months before the letter just quoted. — Ed.

†† Martha's Vineyard. Morton says

in the first edition of his Memorial, "Now called Martin's Vineyard." Belknap says, "The large island is frequently called *Martin's* Vineyard, especially by old writers." The name *Martha's* Vineyard was originally given to the small island now called *Norman's-Land*. It is uncertain for what reason, and at what time, the name was transferred to the large island. See Morton's Memorial, 1st ed., p. 26;

Virginia), and y^e foresaid *Squanto* wth him, wher he going a shore amongst y^e Indans to trad, as he used to doe, was betrayed & assaulted by them, & *all his men slaine, but one that kept the boat*; but him selfe gott abòrd very sore wounded, & they had cut of his head upon y^e cudy of his boat, had not y^e man reskued him with a sword. And so they got away, & made shift to gett into Virginia, wher he dyed; whether of his wounds or y^e diseases of y^e cuntrie, or both togeather, is uncertaine.* [60] By all which it may appeare how farr these people were from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begune, save as y^e powerfull hand of the Lord did protect them. These things† were partly the reason why they kept aloofe & were so long before they came to the English. An other reason (as after them selvs made know) was how aboute 3. *years before*, a French-ship was cast away at *Cap-Codd*, but y^e men gott ashore, & saved their lives, and much of their victails, & other goods; but after y^e Indeans heard of it, they geathered togeather from these parts, and never left watching & dogging them till they got advantage, and *kild them all but 3. or 4.* which they kept, & sent from one Sachem to another, to make sporte with, and used them worse then slaves; (of which y^e foresaid M^r. Dermer redeemed 2. of them;) and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it.

Also, (as after was made knowne,) before they came to y^e English to make freindship, they gott all the *Powachs* of y^e cuntrie, for 3. days togeather, in a horid and divellish maner to curse & execrate them with their conjurations, which assembly & service they held in a darke & dismale swampe.

But to returne. The spring now approaching, it pleased

Archer's Relation of Gosnold's Voyage, in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 75; Belknap, II. 111-113. — Ed.

* For a further account of Dermer, who was in the service of Gorges when

he died, see 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., IX. 7-13; Smith's Generall Historie, fol. ed., p. 229; Belknap, I. 361, 362; Purchas, IV. 1778. — Ed.

† Thing in the manuscript. — Ed.

God the mortalitie begane to cease amongst them, and y^e sick and lame recovered apace, which put as it were new life into them; though they had borne their sadd affliction with much patience & contentednes, as I thinke any people could doe. But it was y^e Lord which upheld them, and had beforehand prepared them; many having long borne y^e yoake, yea from their youth. Many other smaler maters I omite, sundrie of them having been allready published in a Jurnall* made by one of y^e company; and some other passages of jurneys and relations allredy published, to which I referr those that are willing to know them more perticulerly. And being now come to y^e 25. of March I shall begine y^e year 1621.†

[61] *Anno* 1621.

THEY now begane to dispatch y^e ship away which brought them over, which lay till aboute this time, or y^e begining of Aprill.‡ The reason on their parts why she stayed so long, was y^e necessitie and danger that lay upon them, for it was well towards y^e ende of Desember before she could land any thing hear, or they able to receive any thing ashore. Afterwards, y^e 14. of Jan: the house which

* The tract described on page 76, entitled a "Relation or Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at *Plimoth* in New ENGLAND," &c., London, 1622; usually styled Mourt's Relation, the address to the reader being signed G. Mourt. — Ed.

† It appears from Mourt, that about this time Mr. Carver was again chosen "Governor for this year." The expression of Bradford on page 90, in noticing Carver's first election, — viz. that he was "confirmed" their Governor, — may possibly be an inadvertence, and may have been intended to apply to his re-election at this time. — Ed.

‡ Smith, in his *New England's Trials*, p. 16, says, "about the fifth of April, and arrived in England the sixth

of May." The Mayflower remained in the country nearly five months. Whatever impressions the reader may have derived of the character of Jones, the master, it will have been observed that Bradford is here silent as to the charge which Morton brings against him, of having agreed with the Dutch to throw obstacles in the way of the settlement of the Pilgrims at Hudson's River. Morton, who published his Memorial in 1669, twelve years after the death of Bradford, speaks of the "intelligence" concerning this plot as "*late* and certain." See Young, p. 102; Russell's *Guide to Plymouth*, p. 42; Brodhead's *New York*, pp. 129, 130; Barry's *Hist. of Massachusetts*, pp. 81, 82; where this question is considered. — Ed.

they had made for a generall randevoze by casulty fell afire, and some were faine to retire aboard for shilter. Then the sicknes begane to fall sore amongst them, and y^e weather so bad as they could not make much sooner any dispatch. Againe, the Gov^r & cheefe of them, seeing so many dye, and fall downe sick dayly, thought it no wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered, and y^e danger they stood in from y^e Indeans, till they could procure some shelter; and therfore thought it better to draw some more charge upon them selves & freinds, then hazard all. The m^r. and sea-men like-wise, though before they hasted y^e passengers a shore to be gbone, now many of their men being dead, & of y^e ablest of them, (as is before noted,) and of y^e rest many lay sick & weake, y^e m^r. durst not put to sea, till he saw his men begine to recover, and y^e hart of winter over.

Afterwards they (as many as were able) began to plant ther corne, in which servise Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both y^e maner how to set it, and after how to dress & tend it. Also he tould them excepte they gott fish & set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing, and he showed them y^t in y^e midle of Aprill they should have store enough come up y^e brooke, by which they begane to build, and taught them how to take it, and wher to get other provissions necessary for them; all which they found true by triall & experience. Some English seed they sew, as wheat & pease, but it came not to good, eather by y^e badnes of y^e seed, or latenes of y^e season, or both, or some other defecte.

[62] In this month of *Aprill* whilst they were bussie about their seed, their Gov^r (M^r. John Carver*) came out of y^e feild very sick, it being a hott day; he complained greatly of his head, and lay downe, and within a few

* What is known concerning Carver is derived from this History, Mourt's Relation, and Morton's Memorial. Contrary to the general impression, he left

no descendants. See list of passengers in the Mayflower, in the Appendix, No. I. — Ed.

howers his sences failed, so as he never spake more till he dyed, which was within a few days after. Whoss death was much lamented, and caused great heavines amongst them, as ther was cause. He was buried in y^e best maner they could, with some vollies of shott by all that bore armes; and his wife, being a weak woman, dyed within 5. or 6. weeks after him.

Shortly after William Bradford was chosen Gove^r in his stead, and being not yet recoverd of his ilnes, in which he had been near y^e point of death, Isaak Allerton was chosen to be an Asistente unto him, who, by renewed election every year, continued sundry years togeather,* which I hear note once for all.

May 12. was y^e first mariage in this place,† which, according to y^e laudable custome of y^e Low-Cuntries, in which they had lived, was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civill thing, upon which many questions aboute inheritances doe depende, with other things most proper to their cognizans, and most consonante to y^e scripturs, Ruth 4. and no wher found in y^e gospell to be layed on y^e ministers as a part of their office. "This decree or law about mariage was publishd by y^e Stats of y^e Low-Cuntries An^o: 1590. That those of any religion, after lawfull and open publication, coming before y^e magistrats, in y^e Town or Stat-house, were to be orderly (by them) married one to another." Petets Hist.‡ fol: 1029. And this practiss hath continued amongst, not only them, but hath been followed by all y^e famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time, — An^o: 1646.

* In 1624, it will be seen, the Assistants were increased to five, giving the Governor a double voice. — Ed.

† This was the marriage of Edward Winslow, — whose former wife, Elizabeth, died on the 21th of March preceding, — to Mrs. Susannah White, the mother of Peregrine and the widow of William White, who died on the 21st

of February. See Prince, I. 76, 98, 103, 105. — Ed.

‡ The work here cited is probably "La grande Chronique ancienne et moderne de Holland, Zelande, West-frise, Utrecht," &c., by Jean-François le Petit, 1601 and 1611. No copy of this work exists in any of the public libraries in this neighborhood. — Ed.

Having in some sorte ordered their bussines at home, it was thought meete to send some abroad to see their new freind Massasoyet, and to bestow upon him some gratuitie to bind him y^e faster unto them; as also that hearby they might veiw y^e countrie, and see in what maner he lived, what strength he had aboute him, and how y^e ways were to his place, if at any time they should have occasion. So y^e 2. of *July** they sente M^r. Edward Winslow & M^r. Hopkins, with y^e foresaid Squanto for ther guid, who gave him a suite of cloaths, and a horsemans coate, with some other small things, which were kindly accepted; but they found but short comons, and came both weary & hungrie home. For y^e Indeans used then to have nothing [63] so much corne as they have since y^e English have stored them with their hows, and seene their industrie in breaking up new grounds therwith. *They found his place to be 40. myles from hence*, y^e soyle good, & y^e people not many, being dead & abundantly wasted in y^e late great mortalitie which fell in all these parts aboute *three years* before y^e coming of y^e English, wherin thousands of them dyed, they not being able to burie one another; ther sculs and bones were found in many places lying still above ground, where their houses & dwellings had been; a very sad spectackle to behould. But they brought word that y^e Narighansets lived but on y^e other side of that great bay, & were a strong people, & many in number, living compacte together, & had not been at all touched with this wasting plague.

Aboute y^e *later end of this month*, one John Billington† lost him selfe in y^e woods, & wandered up & downe some 5. days, living on beries & what he could find. At length he light on an Indean plantation, 20. mils south of this place,

* For a full account of this visit to Massasoit, written probably by Winslow, see Mourt, in Young, pp. 202-213. It is there stated that the party set forward on their journey the 10th of June, which Prince thinks an error, and fol-

lows Bradford. See Young, p. 202, note; Prince, I. 105. — Ed.

† He was the brother of Francis, who discovered Billington Sea, and a son of the notorious John. See list of passengers, in the Appendix. — Ed.

called *Manamet*, they conveid him funder of, to *Nawsett*, among those peopl that had before set upon y^e English when they were costing, whilst y^e ship lay at y^e Cape, as is before noted. But y^e Gove^r caused him to be enquired for among y^e Indeans, and at length Massassoyt sent word wher he was, and y^e Gove^r sent a shalop for him, & had him delivered. Those people also came and made their peace; and they gave full satisfaction to those whose corne they had found & taken when they were at Cap-Codd.*

Thus ther peace & acquaintance was prety well establisht wth the natives aboute them; and ther 'was an other Indean called *Hobamack* come to live amongst them, a proper lustie man, and a man of accounte for his vallour & parts amongst y^e Indeans, and continued very faithfull and constant to y^e English till he dyed. He & Squanto being gone upon bussines amonge y^e Indeans, at their retorne (whether it was out of envie to them or malice to the English) ther was a Sachem called Corbitant, alyed to Massassoyte, but never any good freind to y^e English to this day, mett with them at an Indean towne caled Namassakett 14. miles to y^e west of this place, and begane to quarell wth [64] them, and offered to stabe Hobamack; but being a lusty man, he cleared him selfe of him, and came ruñing away all sweating and tould y^e Gov^r what had befallne him, and he feared they had killed Squanto, for they threatened them both, and for no other cause but because they were freinds to y^e English, and servisable unto them. Upon this y^e Gove^r taking counsell, it was conceivd not fitt to be borne; for if they should suffer their freinds & messengers thus to be wronged, they should have none would cleave unto them, or give them any intelligence, or doe them serviss afterwards; but nexte

* For the narrative of the expedition in search of the boy Billington, see Mourt, in Young, pp. 214-218. There is a discrepancy in the dates, but Prince follows this History. See Prince, I. 107. — Ed.

they would fall upon them selves. Whereupon it was resolved to send y^e Captaine & 14. men well armed, and to goe & fall upon them in y^e night; and if they found that Squanto was kild, to cut of Corbitants head, but not to hurt any but those that had a hand in it. Hobamack was asked if he would goe & be their guid, & bring them ther before day. He said he would, & bring them to y^e house wher the man lay, and show them which was he. So they set forth y^e 14. of *August*, and beset y^e house round; the Captin giving charg to let none pass out, entred y^e house to search for him. But he was goone away that day, so they mist him; but understood y^t Squanto was alive, & that he had only threatened to kill him, & made an offer to stabe him but did not. So they withheld and did no more hurte, & y^e people came trembling, & brought them the best provissions they had, after they were acquainted by Hobamack what was only intended. Ther was 3.* sore wounded which broak out of y^e house, and asaid to pass through y^e garde. These they brought home with them, & they had their wounds drest & cured, and sente home. After this they had many gratulations from diverce sachims, and much firmer peace; yea, those of y^e Iles of Capawack sent to make frendship; and this Corbitant him selfe used y^e mediation of Massassoyte to make his peace, but was shie to come neare them a longe while after.

After this, y^e 18. of Sepemb^r: they sente out ther shalop to the Massachusets, with 10. men, and [65] Squanto for their guid and interpreter, to discover and veiwe that bay, and trade with y^e natives; the which they performed, and found kind entertainment. The people were much affraid of y^e Tarentins, a people to y^e eastward which used to come in harvest time and take away their corne, & many times kill their persons. They returned in safte, and

* "One man and a woman that were in Young, where is a more full narrative of this visit to Namasket. — Ed.
wounded went home with us." Mourt,

brought home a good quanty of beaver, and made reporte of y^e place, wishing they had been ther seated; (but it seems y^e Lord, who assignes to all men y^e bounds of their habitations, had apoynted it for an other use.) And thus they found y^e Lord to be with them in all their ways, and to blesse their outgoings & incomings, for which let his holy name have y^e praise for ever, to all posteritie.*

They begane now to gather in y^e small harvest they had, and to fitte up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health & strenght, and had all things in good plenty; for as some were thus imployed in affairs abroad, others were excersised in fishing, aboute codd, & bass, & other fish, of which y^{ey} tooke good store, of which every family had their portion. All y^e somer ther was no wante. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter aproached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And besids water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkies, of which they tooke many, besids venison, &c. Besids they had aboute a peck a meale a weeke to a person, or now since harvest, Indean corne to y^t proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty hear to their freinds in England, which were not fained, but true reports.†

In Novemb^r, about y^t time twelfe month that them selves came, ther came in a small ship‡ to them unexpected or loked for,§ in which came M^r. Cushman (so

* For a more full "relation of our voyage to the Massachusetts, and what happened there," see Mourt, in Young, pp. 224-229. — Ed.

† Reference is here made, doubtless, to letters of Winslow and Hilton, sent to England by the Fortune, in which they give a flattering description of the country, and speak of the colony as in a prosperous condition. "We are so far free from want," writes the former, "that we often wish you partakers of our plenty." Winslow's letter was

printed in Mourt's Relation, which was probably sent over at the same time. Hilton's letter first appeared in New England's Trials. — Ed.

‡ The Fortune, of fifty-five tons. She sailed from London "in the beginning of July, but it was the end of August ere they could pass Plymouth, and arrived at New Plymouth in New England the eleventh of November." Smith's New England's Trials, p. 16. — Ed.

§ She came y^e 9. to y^e Cap.

much spoken of before) and with him 35. persons* to remaine & live in y^e plantation; which did not a litle rejoyce them. And they when they came a shore and found all well, and saw plenty of vitails in every house, were no less glade. For most of them were lusty yonge men, and many of them wild enough, who litle considered whither or aboute what they wente, till they came into y^e harbor at Cap-Codd, and ther saw nothing but a naked and barren place. They then begane to thinke what should become of them, if the people here were dead or cut of by y^e Indeans. They begane to consulte (upon some speeches that some of y^e sea-men had cast out) to take y^e sayls from y^e yeard least y^e ship [66] should gett away and leave them ther. But y^e m^r. hereing of it, gave them good words, and tould them if any thing but well should have befallne y^e people hear, he hoped he had vitails enough to cary them to Virginia, and whilst he had a bitt they should have their parte; which gave them good satisfaction. So they were all landed; but ther was not so much as bisket-cake or any other victialls† for them, neither had they any beding, but some sory things they had in their cabins, nor pot, nor pan, to drese any meate in; nor overmany cloaths, for many of them had brusht away their coats & cloaks at Plimoth as they came. But ther was sent over some burching-lane‡ suits in y^e ship, out of which they were supplied. The plantation was glad of this addition of strenght, but could have wished that many of them had been of beter condition, and all of them beter furnished with provissions; but y^e could not be helpte.

* For a list of the passengers who came in the Fortune, see Young, p. 235; Russell's Pilgrim Memorials, pp. 151, 153. — ED.

† Nay, they were faine to spare y^e shipe some to carry her home.

‡ "*Birchover lane*, so called of *Birchover*, the first builder and owner thereof, now corruptly called *Birchin lane*."

"This lane and the high street near adjoining, hath been inhabited (for the most part) with wealthy Drapers, from *Birchover's lane* on that side the street down to the *stockes*. In the reign of Henry the sixth, had ye (for the most part) dwelling there, Frippers or Uppers, that sold apparel and other household stuff." Stow's Survey of London, ed. 1633, p. 215. — ED.

In this ship M^r. Weston sent a large letter to M^r. Carver, y^e late Gove^r, now deseased, full of complaints & expostulations aboute former passagess at Hampton; and y^e keeping y^e shipe so long in y^e country, and returning her without lading, &c., which for brevitie I omite. The rest is as followeth.

Part of Mr. Westons letter.

I durst never aquainte y^e adventurers with y^e alteration of y^e conditions first agreed on betweene us, which I have since been very glad of, for I am well assured had they knowne as much as I doe, they would not have adventured a halfe-peny of what was necessary for this ship. That you sent no lading in the ship is wonderfull, and worthily distasted. I know you^r weaknes was the cause of it, and I beleieve more weaknes of judgemente, then weaknes of hands. A quarter of y^e time you spent in discoursing, arguing, & consulting, would have done much more; but that is past, &c. If you mean, bona fide, to performe the conditions agreed upon, doe us y^e favore to copy them out faire, and subscribe them with y^e principall of your names. And likewise give us accounte as perticularly as you can how our moneys were laid out. And then I shall be able to give them some satisfaction, whom I am now forsed with good words to shift of. And consider that y^e life of the bussines depends on y^e lading of this ship, which, if you doe to any good purpose, that I may be freed from y^e great sums I have disbursed for y^e former, and must doe for the later, *I promise you I will never quit y^e bussines, though all the other adventurers should.*

[67] We have procured you a Charter,* the best we could, which is beter then your former, and with less limitation. For any thing y^t is els worth writting, M^r. Cushman can informe you. I pray write instantly for M^r. Robinson to come to you. And so praying God to blesse you with all graces nessessary both for this life & that to come, I rest

Your very loving frend,

THO. WESTON.

London, July 6. 1621.

* This charter or patent was granted by the President and Council of New England, "to John Pierce and his asso-

ciates," and was in trust for the benefit of the colony. It is dated June 1, 1621, and is interesting as being the

This ship (caled y^e Fortune) was speedily dispatcht away, being laden with good clabboard as full as she could stowe, and 2. hoggsheads of beaver and otter skins, which they gott with a few trifling comodities brought with them at first, being alltogether unprovided for trade; neither was ther any amongst them that ever saw a beaver skin till they came hear, and were informed by Squanto. The freight was estimated to be worth near 500^{li}. M^r. Cushman* returned backe also with this ship, for so Mr. Weston & y^e rest had apoynted him, for their better information. And he doubted not, nor them selves neither, but they should have a speedy supply; considering allso how by M^r. Cushmans perswation, and letters received from Leyden, wherin they willed them so to doe, they yeelded † to y^e afforesaid conditions, and subscribed them with their hands. But it proved other wise, for M^r. Weston, who had made y^t large promise in his leter, (as is before noted,) that if all y^e rest should fall of, yet he would never quit y^e bussines, but stick to them, if they yeelded to y^e conditions, and sente some lading in y^e ship; and of this M^r. Cushman was confident, and confirmed y^e same from his mouth, & serious protestations to him selfe before he came. But all proved but wind, for he was y^e first and only man that forsooke them, and that before he so much as heard of y^e returne of this ship, or knew what was done; (so vaine is y^e confidence in man.) But of this more in its place.

A leter in answer to his write to M^r. Carver, was sente to him from y^e Gov^r, of which so much as is pertenance to y^e thing in hand I shall hear inserte.

S^r: Your large letter writen to M^r. Carver, and dated y^e 6. of July, 1621, I have received y^e 10. of Novemb^r, wherin (after

first grant, of which we have any record, made by the great Plymouth Company. It was first printed in 1854, in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. II. The original is now at Plymouth, and is

probably the oldest document in Massachusetts officially connected with her history. — Ed.

* See page 55, note. — Ed.

† Yeelded in the manuscript. — Ed.

y^e apologic made for your selfe) you lay many heavie imputations upon him and us all. Touching him, he is departed this life, and now is at rest [68] in y^e Lord from all those troubles and incounbrances with which we are yet to strive. He needs not my appologie; for his care and pains was so great for y^e commone good, both ours and yours, as that therewith (it is thought) he oppressed him selfe and shortened his days; of whose loss we cannot sufficiently complaine. At great charges in this adventure, I confess you have beene, and many losses may sustaine; but y^e loss of his and many other honest and industrious mens lives, cannot be vallew'd at any prise. Of y^e one, ther may be hope of recovery, but y^e other no recompence can make good. But I will not insiste in generalls, but come more perticulerly to y^e things them selves. You greatly blame us for keping y^e ship so long in y^e countrie, and then to send her away emptie. She lay 5. weks at Cap-Codd, whilst with many a weary step (after a long journey) and the indurance of many a hard brunte, we sought out in the foule winter a place of habitation. Then we went in so tedious a time to make provision to sheelter us and our goods, aboute w^{ch} labour, many of our armes & leggs can tell us to this day we were not negligent. But it pleased God to vissite us then, with death dayly, and with so generall a disease, that the living were scarce able to burie the dead; and y^e well not in any measure sufficiente to tend y^e sick. And now to be so greatly blamed, for not fraighting y^e ship, doth indeed goe near us, and much discourage us. But you say you know we will pretend weaknes; and doe you think we had not cause? Yes, you tell us you beleeve it, but it was more weaknes of judgmente, then of hands. Our weaknes herin is great we confess, therefore we will bear this check patiently amongst y^e rest, till God send us wiser men. But they which tould you we spent so much time in discoursing & consulting, &c., their harts can tell their touns, they lye. They cared not, so they might salve their owne sores, how they wounded others. Indeed, it is our callamitie that we are (be-yound expectation) yoked with some ill conditioned people, who will never doe good, but corrupte and abuse others, &c.

The rest of y^e letter declared how they had subscribed those conditions* according to his desire, and sente him

* See pp. 45-47. — Ed.

y^e former accounts very perticulerly; also how y^e ship was laden, and in what condition their affairs stood; that y^e coming of these [69] people would bring famine upon them unavoydably, if they had not supply in time (as M^r. Cushman could more fully informe him & y^e rest of y^e adventurers). Also that seeing he was now satisfied in all his demands, that offences would be forgotten, and he remember his promise, &c.

After y^e departure of this ship, (which stayed not above 14. days,*) the Gove^r & his assistante haveing disposed these late comers into severall families, as y^e^y best could, tooke an exacte accounte of all their provissions in store, and proportioned y^e same to y^e number of persons, and found that it would not hould out above 6. months at halfe allowance, and hardly that. And they could not well give less this winter time till fish came in againe. So they were presently put to half allowance, one as well as an other, which begane to be hard, but they bore it patiently under hope of supply.

Sone after this ships departure, y^e great people of y^e Narigansets,† in a braving maner, sente a messenger unto them with a bundl of arrows tyed aboute with a great sneak-skine; which their interpretours tould them was a

* Smith, in his New England's Trials, says this ship returned for England within a month, on the 13th of December; which seems probable, as Winslow's letter sent by her was dated on the 11th of that month. Prince, I. 115, conjectures that Bradford means "14 days from her being unladen."

Smith also says that this ship was "laded with clapboard, wainscot, and Walnut, with about three hogsheds of beaver skins and some saxefras, and, drawing near our coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of C  ra, Governor of Ile Deu, on the coast of Poytou, where they kept the ship, imprisoned the master and company, took from them to the value of about 500 pounds, and after 14 days sent them home," where they arrived the 14th of

February. Cushman, who was on board, writes, on page 192, that they were carried into France and kept there fifteen days, and got well home the 17th of February. — Ed.

† The Narragansetts were a powerful and warlike tribe, that inhabited nearly all the territory of what is now included in the State of Rhode Island. They appear to have escaped the ravages of the plague, which, a few years before, had nearly annihilated some of the neighboring tribes; and, in 1642, are supposed to have numbered thirty thousand. Gookin says that the ancient Indians say they could at one time muster above five thousand fighting men. See Drake's Book of the Indians, p. 117; 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 147, 148. — Ed.

threatening & a chaleng. Upon which y^e Gov^r, with y^e advice of others, sente them a round answere, that if they had rather have warre then peace, they might beginne when they would; they had done them no wrong, neither did y^e fear them, or should they find them unprovided. And by another messenger sente y^e snake-skinne back with bul-its in it; but they would not receive it, but sent it back againe. But these things I doe but mention, because they are more at large allready put forth in printe, by M^r. Winslow, at y^e requeste of some freinds.* And it is like y^e reason was their owne ambition, who, (since y^e death of so many of y^e Indeans,) thought to dominire & lord it over y^e rest, & conceived y^e English would be a barr in their way, and saw that Massasoyt took sheilter allready under their wings.

But this made them y^e more carefully to looke to them selves, so as they agreed to inclose their dwellings with a good strong pale, and make flankers in convenient places, with gates to shute, which were every night locked, and a watch kept, and when neede required ther was also warding in y^e day time. And y^e company was by y^e Capitaine and y^e Gov^r [70] advise, devided into 4. squadrons, and every one had ther quarter apoynted them, unto which they were to repaire upon any suddane alarme. And if ther should be any crie of fire, a company were appointed for a gard, with muskets, whilst others quenchet

* Winslow's book is entitled, "Good Newes from New-England; or A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimoth in New England," &c., London, 1624, pp. 66, sm. 4to. This narrative embraces the period from the sailing of the *Fortune*, in December, 1621, to the departure of the author for England in the *Anne*, September 10th, 1623; taking up the narrative where it is left by Mourt's Relation. It was printed before his return for New England, where he arrived the next spring.

For notices of Edward Winslow, the most accomplished man of the *old comers*, distinguished for the important services he rendered the colony both at home and abroad, and for the eminent abilities which he displayed as the representative of the sister colony to the English government, see Baylies's *New Plymouth*, II. 17-20; Moore's *American Governors*, pp. 93-138. For genealogical notices of the family, see Young, pp. 274, 275, note; *Historical and Genealogical Register*, IV. 297-303. — Ed.

y^e same, to prevent Indean treachery. This was accomplished very cherfully, and y^e towne impayled round by y^e begining of March, in which evry family had a prety garden plote secured. And herewith I shall end this year. Only I shall remember one passage more, rather of mirth then of waight. One y^e day called Chrismas-day, y^e Gov^r caled them out to worke, (as was used,) but y^e most of this new-company excused them selves and said it wente against their consciences to work on y^e day. So y^e Gov^r tould them that if they made it mater of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led-away y^e rest and left them; but when they came home at noone from their worke, he found them in y^e streete at play, openly; some pitching y^e barr, & some at stoole-ball,* and shuch like sports. So he went to them, and tooke away their implements, and tould them that was against his conscience, that they should play & others worke. If they made y^e keeping of it mater of devotion, let them kepe their houses, but ther should be no gameing or revelling in y^e streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly.

Anno 1622.

At y^e spring of y^e year they had apointed y^e Massachusets to come againe and trade with them, and begane now to prepare for that vioag about y^e later end of March. But upon some rumors heard, Hobamak, their Indean, tould them upon some jealocies he had, he feared they were

* "Stool-Ball. An ancient game at ball, played by both sexes. According to Dr. Johnson, it is a play where balls are driven from stool to stool. See a further notice of it in Strutt, p. 97. In Lewis's English Presbyterian Eloquence, p. 17, speaking of the tenets of the Puritans, he observes that 'all

games where there is any hazard of loss are strictly forbidden; not so much as a game at *stool-ball* for a Tansay, or a cross and pyle for the odd penny at a reckoning, upon pain of damnation.' This quotation is given by Brand in his Pop. Antiq." Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words.—ED.

joyned wth y^e Narighansets and might betray them if they were not carefull. He intimated also some jealocie of Squanto, by what he gathered from some private whisperings betweene him and other Indeans. But [71] they resolved to proseele, and sente out their shalop with 10. of their cheefe men aboute y^e begining of Aprill, and both Squanto & Hobamake with them, in regarde of y^e jelocie betweene them. But they had not bene gone longe, but an Indean belonging to Squantos family came runing in seeming great fear, and tould them that many of y^e Narihansets, with Corbytant, and he thought also Massasoyte, were coming against them; and he gott away to tell them, not without danger. And being examined by y^e Gov^r, he made as if they were at hand, and would still be looking back, as if they were at his heels. At which the Gov^r caused them to take armes & stand on their garde, and supposing y^e boat to be still within hearing (by reason it was calme) caused a warning peece or 2. to be shote of, the which y^{ey} heard and came in. But no Indeans appeared; watch was kepte all night, but nothing was seene. Hobamak was confidante for Massasoyt, and thought all was false; yet y^e Gov^r caused him to send his wife privatly, to see what she could observe (pretening other occasions), but ther was nothing found, but all was quiet. After this they proseeded on their vioge to y^e Massachusets, and had good trade, and returned in saftie, blessed be God.

But by the former passages, and other things of like nature, they begane to see y^t Squanto sought his owne ends, and plaid his owne game, by putting y^e Indeans in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich him selfe; making them beleeeve he could stur up warr against whom he would, & make peece for whom he would. Yea, he made them beleeeve they kept y^e plague buried in y^e ground, and could send it amongs whom they would, which did much terifie the Indeans, and made them depend more on

him, and seeke more to him then to Massasoyte, which procured him envie, and had like to have cost him his life. For after y^e discovery of his practises, Massasoyt sought it both privatly and openly; which caused him to stick close to y^e English, & never durst goe from them till he dyed. They also made good use of y^e emulation y^t grue betweene Hobamack * and him, which made them cary more squarely. And y^e Gov^r seemd to countenance y^e one, and y^e Captaine y^e other, by which they had better intelligence, and made them both more diligente.†

[72] Now in a maner their provissions were wholly spent, and they looked hard for supply, but none came. But about y^e *later end of May*, they spied a boat at sea, which at first they thought had beene some French-man; but it proved a shalop which came from a ship‡ which M^r. Weston & an other had set out a fishing, at a place called Damarins-cove, § 40. leagues to y^e eastward of them, wher were y^t year many more ships come a fishing. This boat brought 7. passengers and some letters, but no vitails, nor any hope of any. Some part of which I shall set downe.

Mr. Carver, in my last leters by y^e Fortune, in whom Mr. Cushman wente, and who I hope is with you, for we daly expecte y^e shipe back againe.¶ She departed hence, y^e begining of July, with 35. persons, though not over well provided with neecesaries, by reason of y^e parsemonie of y^e adventurers.¶ I

* Hobamack rendered the colony important service, and in the allotment of land, in 1624, allusion is made to "Hobamac's ground." Further mention is made of him, though not by name, in New England's First Fruits, page 2, a tract published in London in 1643. "Though he was much tempted by enticements, scoffs, and scorns from the Indians, yet could he never be gotten from the English, nor from seeking after their God, but died amongst them, leaving some good hopes in their hearts that his soul went to rest." — Ed.

† For a more full narrative of these

incidents, see Winslow, in Young, pp. 285 — 292. — Ed.

‡ The Sparrow. Winslow, in Young, p. 293. — Ed.

§ The Damariscove Islands, five or six in number, "lie to the west by north from Monhegan"; they were early resorted to by fishermen. See Williamson's Maine, I. 56. — Ed.

¶ It will be perceived that the author, who frequently gives only such abstracts of letters as he deems pertinent to the narrative, sometimes leaves the sentence unfinished. — Ed.

¶ *Adventures* in the manuscript. — Ed.

have solisited them to send you a supply of men and proviissions before shée come. They all answer they will doe great maters, when they hear good news. Nothing before; so faithfull, constant, & carefull of your good, are your olde & honest freinds, that if they hear not from you, they are like to send you no supplie, &c. I am now to relate y^e occasion of sending *this ship*, hoping if you give credite to my words, you will have a more favourable opinion of it, then some hear, wherof Pickering is one, who taxed me to mind my owne ends, which is in part true, &c. *Mr. Beachamp and my selfe* bought *this litle ship*, and have set her out, partly, if it may be, to uphold * y^e plantation, as well to doe others good as our selves; and partly to gett up what we are formerly out; though we are otherwise censured, &c. This is y^e occasion we have sent *this ship* and these passengers, on our owne accounte; whom we desire you will frendly entertaine & supply with shuch necessities as you cane spare, and they wante, &c. And among other things we pray you lend or sell them some seed corne, and if you have y^e salt remaining of y^e last year, that y^u will let them have it for their presente use, and we will either pay you for it, or give you more when we have set our salt-pan to worke, which we desire may be set up in one of y^e litle ilands in your bay, &c. And because we intende, if God plase, [73] (and y^e generallitie doe it not,) *to send within a month another shipe*, who, having discharged her passengers, *shal goe to Virginia*, &c. And it may be we shall send a *small ship to abide with you* on y^e coast, which I conceive may be a great help to y^e plantation. To y^e end our desire may be effected, which, I assure my selfe, will be also for your good, we pray you give them entertainmente in your houses y^e time they shall be with you, that they may lose no time, but may presently goe in hand to fell trees & cleave them, to y^e end lading may be ready and our ship stay not.

Some of y^e adventurers have sent you hearwith all some directions for your furtherance in y^e comōne bussines, who are like those S^t. James speaks of, y^t bid their brother eat, and warme him, but give him nothing; so they bid you make salt, and uphold y^e plantation, but send you no means wherewithall to doe it, &c. By y^e next we purpose to send more people on our owne accounte, and to take a patente; that if your peopl

* I know not w^{ch} way.

should be as unhumane as some of y^e adventurers, not to admite us to dwell with them, which were extreme barbarisme, and which will never enter into my head to thinke you have any such Pickerings amongst you. Yet to satisfie our passengers I must of force doe it; and for some other reasons not necessary to be writen, &c. I find y^e generall so backward, and your freinds at Leyden so could, that I fear you must stand on your leggs, and trust (as they say) to God and your selves.

Subscribed,

your loving freind,

Jan: 12. 1621.*

THO: WESTON.

Sundry other things I pass over, being tedious & impertinent.

All this was but could comfort to fill their hungrie bellies, and a slender performance of his former late promiss; and as litle did it either fill or warme them, as those y^e Apostle James spake of, by him before mentioned. And well might it make them remember what y^e psalmist saith, *Psa. 118. 8. It is better to trust in the Lord, then to have confidence in man.* And *Psa. 146. Put not you trust in princes* (much less in y^e marchants) *nor in y^e sone of man, for ther is no help in them.* v. 5. *Blesed is he that hath y^e God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in y^e Lord his God.* And as they were now fayled of suply by him and others in this their greatest neede and wants, which was caused by him and y^e rest, who put so great a company of men upon them, as y^e former company were, without any food, and came at shuch a time as they must live almost a whole year before any could [74] be raised, excepte they had sente some; so, upon y^e pointe they never had any supply of vitales more afterwards (but what the Lord gave them otherwise); for all y^e company sent at any time was allways too short for those people y^t came with it.

Ther came allso *by y^e same ship* other leters, but of later date, one from M^r. Weston, an other from a parte of y^e adventurers, as foloweth.

* That is, 1622, new style. — Ed.

Mr. Carver, since my last, to y^e end we might y^e more readily proceed to help y^e generall, at a meeting of some of y^e principall adventurers, a proposition was put forth, & allowed by all presente (save Pickering), to adventure each man y^e third parte of what he formerly had done. And ther are some other y^t folow his example, and will adventure no further. In regard wherof y^e greater part of y^e adventurers being willing to uphold y^e bussines, finding it no reason that those y^t are willing should uphold y^e bussines of those that are unwilling, whose backwardnes doth discourage those that are forward, and hinder other new-adventurers from coming in, we having well considered therof, have resolved, according to an article* in y^e agreemente, (*that it may be lawfull by a generall consente of y^e adventurers & planters, upon just occasion, to breake of their joynte stock,*) to breake it of; and doe pray you to ratifie, and confirme y^e same on your parts. Which being done, we shall y^e more willingly goe forward for y^e upholding of you with all things necesarie. But in any case you must agree to y^e artickls, and send it by y^e first under your hands & seals. So I end

Your loving freind,

THO: WESTON.

Jan: 17. 1621.†

Another leter was write from part of y^e company of y^e adventurers to the same purpose, and subscribed with 9. of their names, wherof M^r. Westons & M^r. Beachamphs were tow. Thes things seemed strang unto them, seeing this unconstancie & shuffling; it made them to thinke ther was some misterie in y^e matter. And therefore y^e Gov^r concealed these letters from y^e publick, only imparted them to some trustie freinds for advice, who concluded with him, that this tended to disband & scater them (in regard of their straits); and if M^r. Weston & others, who seemed to rune in a perticuler way, should come over with shipping so provided as his letters did intimate, they most would fall to him, to y^e prejudice of them selves & y^e rest of the adventurers,‡ their freinds, from whom as yet they heard

* See third article in the agreement, p. 46. — Ed.

† That is, 1622, new style. — Ed.
‡ *Adventures* in the manuscript. — Ed.

nothing. And it was doubted whether he had not sente [75] over shuch a company in y^e former ship,* for shuch an end. Yet they tooke compassion of those 7. men which *this ship, which fished to y^e eastward, had kept till planting time was over*, and so could set no corne; and allso wanting vitals, (for y^{ey} turned them off wthout any, and indeed wanted for them selves,) neither was their salt-pan come, so as y^{ey} could not performe any of those things which M^r. Weston had apointed, and might have starved if y^e plantation had not succoured them; who, in their wants, gave them as good as any of their owne. *The ship wente to Virginia*, wher they sould both ship & fish; of which (it was conceived) M^r. Weston had a very slender accounte.

After this came another of his ships,† and brought letters dated y^e 10. of Aprill, from M^r. Weston, as followeth.

M^r. Bradford, these, &c. *The Fortune* is arived, of whose good news touching your estate & proceēings, I am very glad to hear. And how soever he was robed on y^e way by y^e French-men, yet I hope your loss will not be great, for y^e conceite of so great a returne doth much animate y^e adventurers, so y^t I hope some matter of importance will be done by them, &c. As for my selfe, I have sould my adventure & debts unto them, so as I am quit ‡ of you, & you of me, for that matter, &c. Now though I have nothing to pretend as an adventurer amongst you, yet I will advise you a litle for your good, if you can apprehend it. I perceive & know as well as another, y^e dispositions of *your adventurers*, whom y^e hope of gaine hath drawne on to this they have done; and yet I fear y^t hope will not draw them much further. Besides, *most of them are against y^e sending of them of Leyden, for whose cause this bussines was first begune*, and some of y^e most religious (as M^r. Greene by name) excepts against them. So y^t my advice is (you may follow it if you please) that you forthwith break of your joynte stock, which you have warente to doe, both in law & conscience, for y^e most parte of

* The Fortune. See p. 105. — ED.

† The Charity, of one hundred tons, accompanied by a smaller vessel, the Swan, of thirty tons; they arrived in the end of June or beginning of July,

having left London about the last of April. See Smith's Generall Historie, fol. ed., p. 236; Winslow, in Young, p. 296. — ED.

‡ See how his promiss is fulfilld.

y^e adventurers have given way unto it by a former letter. And y^e means you have ther, which I hope will be to some purpose by y^e trade of this spring, may, with y^e help of some freinds hear, bear y^e charge of trāsporting those of Leyden; and when they are with you I make no question but by Gods help you will be able to subsist of your selves. But I shall leave you to your discretion.

I desired divorce of y^e adventurers, as M^r. Peirce, M^r. Greene, & others, if they had any thing to send you, either vitails or leters, to send them *by these ships*; and marvelling they sent not so much as a letter, I asked our passengers what leters they had, and with some difficultie one of them tould me he had one, which was delivered him with [76] great charge of secrecie; and for more securitie, to buy a paire of new-shoes, & sow it betweene y^e soles for fear of intercepting. I, taking y^e leter, wondering what mistrie might be in it, broke it open, and found this treacherous letter subscribed by y^e hands of M^r. Pickering & M^r. Greene. Wich leter had it come to you^r hands without answer, might have caused y^e hurt, if not y^e ruine, of us all. For assuredly if you had followed their instructions, and shewed us that unkindness which they advise you unto, to hold us in distruste as enimise, &c., it might have been an occasion to have set us togeather by y^e eares, to y^e distruction of us all. For I doe beleve that in shuch a case, they knowing what bussines hath been betweene us, not only my brother, but others also, would have been violent, and heady against you, &c. I mente to have settled y^e people I before and now send, with or near you, as well for their as your more securitie and defence, as help on all occasions. But I find y^e adventurers so jealous & suspitious, that I have altered my resolution, & given order to my brother & those with him, to doe as they and him selfe shall find fitte. Thus, &c.

Your loving freind,

April 10. 1621.*

THO: WESTON.

Some part of M^r Pickerings letter before mentioned.

To M^r. Bradford & M^r. Brewster, &c.

My dear love remembred unto you all, &c. The company hath bought out M^r. Weston, and are very glad they are freed

* This should be 1622, the year beginning then on the 25th of the preceding month. — Ed.

of him, he being judged a man y^t thought him selfe above y^e generall, and not expresing so much y^e fear of God as was meete in a man to whom shuch trust should have been reposed in a matter of so great importance. I am sparing to be so plaine as indeed is clear against him; but a few words to y^e wise.

Mr. Weston will not permitte leters to be sent in *his ships*, nor any thing for your good or ours, of which ther is some reason in respecte of him selfe, &c. His brother Andrew, whom he doth send as principall in *one of these ships*, is a heady yong man, & violente, and set against you ther, & y^e company hear; plotting with Mr. Weston their owne ends, which tend to your & our undooing in respecte of our estates ther, and prevention of our good ends. For by credible testimoney we are informed his purpose is to come to your colonie, pretending he comes for and from y^e adventurers, and will seeke to gett what you have in readynes [77] into *his ships*, as if they came from y^e company, & possessing all, will be so much profite to him selfe. And further to informe them selves what spetiall places or things you have discovered, to y^e end that they may supres & deprive you, &c.

The Lord, who is y^e watchman of Israll & slepeth not, preserve you & deliver you from unreasonable men. I am sorie that ther is cause to admonish you of these things concerning this man; so I leave you to God, who bless and multiply you into thousands, to the advancemente of y^e glorious gossell of our Lord Jesus. Amen. Fare well.

Your loving freinds,

EDWARD PICKERING.

WILLIAM GREENE.

I pray conceale both y^e writing & deliverie of this leter, but make the best use of it. *We hope to sete forth a ship our selves with in this month.*

The heads of his answer.

Mr. Bradford, this is y^e leter y^t I wrote unto you of, which to answer in every perticuler is needles & tedious. My owne conscience & all our people can and I thinke will testifie, y^t my end in sending y^e ship *Sparrow* was your good, &c. Now I will not deny but ther are many of our people rude fellows, as these men terme them; yet I presume they will be governed by such as I set over them. And I hope not only to be able to reclaime

them from y^t profanenes that may scandalise y^e vioage, but by degrees to draw them to God, &c. I am so farr from sending rude fellows to deprive you either by fraude or violence of what is yours, as I have charged y^e m^r. of y^e *ship Sparrow*, not only to leave with you 2000. of bread, but also a good quantitie of fish,* &c. But I will leave it to you to consider what evill this leter would or might have done, had it come to your hands & taken y^e effeete y^e other desired.

Now if you be of y^e mind y^t these men are, deale plainly with us, & we will seeke our residence els-wher. If you are as freindly as we have thought you to be, give us y^e entertainment of freinds, and we will take nothing from you, neither meat, drinke, nor lodging, but what we will, in one kind or other, pay you for, &c. I shall leave in y^e countrie *a little ship* † (if God send her safe thither) with mariners & fisher-men to stay ther, who shall coast, & trad with y^e savages, & y^e old plantation. It may be we shall be as helpfull to you, as you will be to us. I thinke I shall see you y^e next spring; and so I comend you to y^e protection of God, who ever keep you.

Your loving freind,

THO: WESTON.

[78] Thus all ther hops in regard of M^r. Weston were layed in y^e dust, and all his promised helpe turned into an empttie advice, which they apprehended was nether lawfull nor profitable for them to follow. And they were not only thus left destitute of help in their extreme wants, haveing neither vitails, nor any thing to trade with, but others prepared & ready to glean up what y^e cuntrie might have afforded for their releefe. As for those harsh censures & susspitions intimated in y^e former and following leters, they desired to judg as charitably and wisly of them as they could, waighing them in y^e ballance of love and reason; and though they (in parte) came from godly & loveing freinds, yet they conceived many things might arise from over deepe jealocie and fear, togeather with unmeete provocations, though they well saw M^r. Weston

* But y^e [he] left not his own men a bite of bread.

† The Swan. — Ed.

pursued his owne ends, and was imbittered in spirite. For after the receipt of y^e former leters, the Gov^r received one from M^r. Cushman, who went home in y^e ship, and was allway intimate with M^r. Weston, (as former passages declare), and it was much marveled that nothing was heard from him, all this while. But it should seeme it was y^e difficulty of sending, for this leter was directed as y^e leter of a wife to her husband, who was here, and brought by him to y^e Gov^r. It was as followeth.

Beloved Sr: I hartily salute you, with trust of your health, and many thanks for your love. By Gods providence we got well home y^e 17. of Feb. Being robbed by y^e French-men by y^e way, and carried by them into France, and were kepte ther 15. days, and lost all y^t we had that was worth taking; but thanks be to God, we escaped with our lives & ship.* I see not y^t it worketh any discouragment hear. I purpose by Gods grace to see you shortly, I hope in June nexte, or before. In y^e mean space know these things, and I pray you be advertised a litle. M^r. Weston hath quite broken of from our company, through some discontents y^t arose betwext him and some of our adventurers, & hath sould all his adventurs, & hath now sent 3.† *smale ships for his perticuler plantation.* The greatest wherof, being 100. tuns,‡ M^r. Reynolds goeth m^r. and he with y^e rest purposeth to come him selfe; for what end I know not.

The people which they cary are no men for us, wherfore I pray you entertaine them not, neither exchainge man for man with them, excepte it be some of your worst. He hath taken a patente for him selfe. If they offerr to buy any thing of you, let it be shuch as you can spare, and let them give y^e worth of it. If they borrow any thing of you, let them leave a good pawne, &c. It is like he [79] will plant to y^e southward of y^e Cape, for William Trevore § hath lavishly tould but what he knew or imagined of Capewack, Mohiggen, & y^e Narigansets. I fear these people will hardly deale so well with y^e savages as they should. I pray you therfore signifie to Squanto, that they are

* See p. 110. — Ed.

† The Sparrow, the Charity, and the Swan. See pp. 114, 118. — Ed.

‡ The Charity. — Ed.

§ He came in the Mayflower, was

hired to stay a year in the country, and on its expiration returned to England. See list of passengers, in the Appendix.

— Ed.

a distincte body from us, and we have nothing to doe with them, neither must be blamed for their faults, much less can warrente their fidelitie. We are aboute to recover our losses in France. Our freinds at Leyden are well, and will come to you as many as can *this time*. I hope all will turne to y^e best, wherefore I pray you be not discouraged, but gather up your selfe to goe thorow these difficulties cherfully & with courage in y^e place wherein God hath sett you, untill y^e day of refreshing come. And y^e Lord God of sea & land bring us comfortably togeather againe, if it may stand with his glorie.

Yours, ROBERT CUSHMAN.

On y^e other sid of y^e leafe, in y^e same leter, came these few lines from M^r. John Peirce, in whose name the patente was taken, and of whom more will follow, to be spoken in its place.

Worthy Sr: I desire you to take into consideration that which is writen on y^e other side, and not any way to damnifie your owne collony, whos strength is but weaknes, and may therby be more infeebled. And for y^e leters of association, by y^e next ship we send, I hope you shall receive satisfaction; in y^e mean time whom you admite I will approve. But as for M^r. Weston's company, I thinke them so base in condition (for y^e most parte) as in all apearance not fitt for an honest mans company. I wish they prove other wise. My purpose is not to enlarge my selfe, but cease in these few lins, and so rest

Your loving freind,

JOHN PEIRCE.

All these things they pondred and well considered, yet concluded to give his men frendly entertainmente; partly in regard of M^r. Weston him selfe, considering what he had been unto them, & done for them, & to some, more espetially; and partly in compassion to y^e people, who were now come into a willdernes, (as them selves were,) and were by y^e *ship** to be presently put a shore, (for she was to *cary other passengers to Virginia*, who lay at great charge,) and they were alltogether unacquainted & knew

* The Charity. See p. 118. — Ed.

not what to doe. So as they had received his former company of 7. men,* and vitailed them as their owne hitherto, so they also received *these* (being aboute 60. lusty men), and gave [79] housing for them selves and their goods; and many being sicke, they had y^e best means y^e place could aford them. They stayed hear y^e most part^e of y^e so^mer till y^e ship came back againe from Virginia. Then, by his direction, or those whom he set over them, they removed into y^e Massachusset Bay, he having got a patente† for some part ther, (by light of ther former discovery in leters sent home). Yet they left all ther sicke folke hear till they were settled and housed. But of ther victails they had not any, though they were in great wante, nor any thing els in recompence of any courtcie done them; neither did they desire it, for they saw they were an unruly company, and had no good govermente over them, and by disorder would soone fall into wants if M^r. Weston came not y^e sooner amongst them; and therefore, to prevente all after occasion, would have nothing of them.

Amids these streigths, and y^e desertion of those from whom they had hoped for supply, and when famine begane now to pinch them sore, they not knowing what to doe, the Lord, (who never fails his,) presents them with an occasion, beyond all expectation. This boat which came from y^e eastward ‡ brought them a letter from a stranger, of whose name they had never heard before, being a captaine of a ship come ther a fishing. This leter was as followeth. Being thus inscribed.

To all his good freinds at Plimoth, these, &c.

Freinds, cuntrimen, & neighbours: I salute you, and wish you all health and hapines in y^e Lord. I make bould with

* Who came in the Sparrow. See p. 114. — Ed.

† Weston's patent is not extant, and but little is known respecting it. His brief settlement was at a place called

by the Indians Wessagusset or Wessaguscus, included in the present town of Weymouth. See Prince, I. 121. — Ed.

‡ Which belonged to the Sparrow. See p. 114. — Ed.

these few lines to trouble you, because unless I were unhumane, I can doe no less. Bad news doth spread it selfe too farr; yet I will so farr informe you that my selfe, with many good freinds in y^e south-collonie of Virginia, have received shuch a blow, that 400. persons large will not make good our losses.* Therefore I doe intreat you (although not knowing you) that y^e old rule which I learned when I went to schoole, may be sufficente. That is, Hapie is he whom other mens harmes doth make to beware. And now againe, and againe, wishing all those y^e willingly would serve y^e Lord, all health and happines in this world, and everlasting peace in y^e world to come. And so I rest,

Yours,

JOHN HUDLSTON.

By this boat y^e Gov^r returned a thankfull answer, as was meete, and sent a boate of their owne with them, which was piloted by them, in which M^r. Winslow was sente† to procure what provissions he could of y^e ships, who was kindly received by y^e foresaid gentill-man, who not only spared what he [90‡] could, but writ to others to doe y^e like. By which means he gott some good quantitie and returned in saftie, by which y^e plantation had a duple benefite, first, a present refreshing by y^e food brought, and secondly, they knew y^e way to those parts for their benifite hereafter. But what was gott, & this small boat brought, being devided among so many, came but to a litle; yet by Gods blesing it upheld them till harvest. It arose but to a quarter of a pound of bread a day to each person; and y^e Gov^r caused it to be dayly given them, otherwise, had it been in their owne custody, they would have eate it up & then starved. But thus, with what els they could get, they made pretie shift till corne was ripe.

* The massacre by the Indians here alluded to, was on the 22d of March of this year. Smith estimates the number of English slain, in the several plantations, at three hundred and forty-seven. Smith's *Generall Historie*, fol. cl., pp. 144-149. — Ed.

† This was probably in June. See Winslow, in Young, p. 294. — Ed.

‡ Mr. Hunter writes: "Here is an error in Bradford's pagination. He passes from 79 to 90. No part of the manuscript is here lost." 79 is repeated in the paging. — Ed.

This somer they builde a fort with good timber, both strong & comly, which was of good defence, made with a flate rofe & batlments, on which their ordnance were mounted, and wher they kepte constante watch, espetially in time of danger. It served them allso for a meeting house, and was fitted accordingly for that use.* It was a great worke for them in this weaknes and time of wants; but y^e deanger of y^e time required it, and both y^e continuall rumors of y^e fears from y^e Indeans hear, espetially y^e Nari-gansets, and also y^e hearing of that great massacre in Virginia, made all hands willing to despatch y^e same.

Now y^e wellcome time of harvest approached, in which all had their hungrie bellies filled. But it arose but to a litle, in comparison of a full years supplie; partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with y^e mañer of Indean corne, (and they had no other,) allso their many other imployments, but cheefly their weaknes for wante of food, to tend it as they should have done. Also much was stolne both by night & day, before it became scarce eatable, & much more afterward. And though many were well whipt (when they were taken) for a few ears of corne, yet hunger made others (whom conscience did not restraine) to venture. So as it well appeared y^t famine must still insue y^e next year allso, if not some way prevented, or supplie should faile, to which they durst not trust. Markets there was none to goe too, but only y^e

* The fort was built on Burial Hill. The following extract from a letter written by Isaac De Rasieres, who visited Plymouth in 1627, will be read with interest here:—"Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a flat roof, made of thick sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four or five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or fire-

lock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor, in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side-arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him." See Winslow, in Young, p. 295; Russell's Guide to Plymouth, ed. 1855, p. 143.—ED.

Indeans, and they had no trading comodities. Behold now another providence of God; a ship* comes into y^e harbor, [91] one Captain Jons being cheefe therin. They were set out by some marchants to discover all y^e harbors betweene this & Virginia, and y^e shoulds of Cap-Cod, and to trade along y^e coast wher they could. This ship had store of English-beads (which were then good trade) and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantie togeather. Yet they weere glad of y^e occasion, and faine to buy at any rate; they were faine to give after y^e rate of cento per cento, if not more, and yet pay away coat-beaver at 3^s. per^{ti}, which in a few years after yeelded 20^s. By this means they were fitted againe to trade for beaver & other things, and intended to buy what corne they could.

But I will hear take liberty to make a litle digression. Ther was in *this ship* a gentle-man by name M^r. John Poory; he had been secretarie in Virginia, and was now going home passenger *in this ship*. After his departure he write a leter to y^e Gov^r in y^e postscrite wherof he hath these lines.

To your selfe and M^r. Brewster, I must acknowledg my selfe many ways indebted, whose books I would have you thinke very well bestowed on him, who esteemeth them shuch juells. My hast would not suffer me to remember (much less to begg) M^r. Ainsworths elaborate worke upon y^e 5. books of Moyses. Both his & M^r. Robinsons doe highly comend the authors, as being most conversante in y^e scripturs of all others. And what good (who knows) it may please God to worke by them, through my hands, (though most unworthy,) who finds shuch high contente in them. God have you all in his keeping.

Your unfained and firme freind,

Aug. 28. 1622.

JOHN PORY.

These things I hear inserte for honour sake of y^e authors memorie, which this gentle-man doth thus ingeniously

* The Discovery. See Winslow, in Young, p. 298. — Ed.

acknowledg; and him selfe after his returne did this poore-plantation much credite amongst those of no mean ranck. But to returne.

[92] *Shortly after harvest* Mr. Westons people who were now seated at y^e Massachusets, and by disorder (as it seems) had made havock of their provissions, begane now to perceive that want would come upon them. And hearing that they hear had bought trading comodities & intended to trade for corne, they write to y^e Gov^r and desired they might joyne with them, and they would imploy their small ship* in y^e servise; and further requested either to lend or sell them so much of their trading comodities as their part might come to, and they would undertake to make paymente when Mr. Weston, or their supply, should come. The Gov^r condesended upon equall terms of agreemente, thinkeing to goe aboute y^e Cap to y^e southward with y^e ship, wher some store of corne might be got. Althings being provided, Captaint Standish was appointed to goe with them, and Squanto for a guid & interpreter, about y^e *latter end of September*; but y^e winds put them in againe, & putting out y^e 2. time, he fell sick of a feavor, so y^e Gov^r wente him selfe.† But they could not get aboute y^e should of Cap-Cod, for flats & breakers, neither could Squanto directe them better, nor y^e m^r. durst venture any further, so they put into Manamoyack Bay and got w^t ‡ they could ther. In this place Squanto fell sick of an Indean feavor, bleeding much at y^e nose (which y^e Indeans take for a simptome of death), and within a few days dyed ther; desiring y^e Gov^r to pray for him, that he might goe to y^e Englishmens God in heaven, and bequeathed sundrie of his things to sundry of his English freinds, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had

* The Swan. See p. 121. The Charity returned for England in the end of September, or beginning of October. Winslow, in Young, p. 299. — Ed.

† “In the month of November.” Winslow, in Young, p. 300. — Ed.
‡ *Wth* in the manuscript. — Ed.

a great loss. They got in this vioage, in one place & other, about 26. or 28. hogsheads of corne & beans, which was more then y^e Indeans could well spare in these parts, for y^e set but a litle till they got English hows. And so were faine to returne, being sory they could not gett about the Cap, to have been better laden. After ward y^e Gov^r tooke a few men & wente to y^e inland places, to get what he could, and to fetch it home at y^e spring, which did help them something.*

[93] After these things, in *Feb*: a messenger came from John Sanders, who was left cheefe† over Mr. Weston's men in y^e bay of Massachusetts, who brought a letter shewing the great wants they were falen into; and he would have borrowed a hh of corne of y^e Indeans, but they would lend him none. He desired advice whether he might not take it from them by force to succore his men till he came from y^e eastward, whither he was going. The Gov^r & rest deswaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the Indeans as might endanger their saftie, and all of us might smart for it; for they had already heard how they had so wronged y^e Indeans by stealing their corne, &c. as they were much incensed against them. Yea, so base were some of their own company, as they wente & tould y^e Indeans y^t their Gov^r was purposed to come and take their corne by force. The which with other things made them enter into a conspiracie against y^e English, of which more in y^e nexte. Hear with I end this year.

* For a more full narrative of the expeditions made by Governor Bradford and by Captain Standish, during this winter and the following March, in search of provisions, see Winslow's Good News, before cited. — Ed.

† After the sudden death at Plymouth of "Master Richard Greene, brother-in-law to Master Weston, who from him had a charge in the oversight and government of his colony." Winslow, in Young, p. 299. — Ed.

Anno Dom: 1623.

It may be thought strang that these people* should fall to these extremities in so short a time, being left competently provided when y^e ship left them, and had an addition by that moyetie of corn that was got by trade, besides much they gott of y^e Indans wher they lived, by one means & other. It must needs be their great disorder, for they spent excesseivly whilst they had, or could get it; and, it may be, wasted parte away among y^e Indeans (for he y^e was their cheef was taxed by some amongst them for keeping Indean women, how truly I know not). And after they begane to come into wants, many sould away their cloathes and bed coverings; others (so base were they) became servants to y^e Indeans, and would cutt them woode & fetch them water, for a cap full of corne; others fell to plaine stealing, both night & day, from y^e Indeans, of which they greevosly complained. In y^e end, they came to that misery, that some starved & dyed with could & hunger. One in geathering shell-fish was so weake as he stuck fast in y^e mudd, and was found dead in y^e place. At last most of them left their dwellings & scatered up & downe in y^e [94] woods, & by y^e water sids, wher they could find ground nuts & clames, hear 6. and ther ten. By which their cariages they became contemned & scorned of y^e Indeans, and they begane greatly to insulte over them in a most insolente maner; insomuch, many times as they lay thus scatered abrod, and had set on a pot with ground nuts or shell-fish, when it was ready the Indeans would come and eate it up; and when night came, wheras some of them had a sorie blanket, or such like, to lappe them selves in, the Indeans would take it and let y^e other lye all nighte in the could; so as their condition was very lamentable. Yea, in y^e end they were faine to hange one

* That is, Weston's people. — ED.

of their men, whom they could not reclaime from stealing, to give y^e Indeans contente.*

Whilst things wente in this maner with them, y^e Gov^r & people hear had notice y^t Massasoyte ther freind was sick & near unto death. They sent to vissete him, and withall sente him such comfortable things as gave him great contente, and was a means of his recovery; upon which occasion he discovers y^e conspiracie of these Indeans, how they were resolved to cutt of Mr. Westons people, for the continuall injuries they did them, & would now take opportunitie of their weaknes to doe it; and for that end had conspired with other Indeans their neighbours their aboute. And thinking the people hear would revenge their death, they therfore thought to doe y^e like by them, & had solisited him to joyne with them. He advised them therfore to prevent it, and that speedly by taking of some of y^e cheefe of them, before it was to late, for he asured them of y^e truth hereof.

This did much trouble them, and they tooke it into serious deliberation, and found upon examination other evidence to give light hear unto, to longe hear to relate. In y^e mean time, came one† of them from y^e Massachuets,

* "A waggish report became current," writes Judge Davis, in his edition of the Memorial, "that the real offender was spared, and that a poor decrepit old man, that was unserviceable to the company, was hung in his stead"; — which was the ground of the story, says Hubbard, "with which the merry gentleman that wrote Hudibras did, in his poetical fancy, make so much sport." Thomas Morton, in his *New English Canaan*, says that a proposition was made by one of the company, of the vicarious nature indicated, but it was not carried, and the real offender was executed. — Ed.

† Morton says, "This man's name was Phinehas Pratt, who hath penned the particular of his perilous journey, and some other things relating to this tragedy." Pratt's narrative is extant, but has not been published. It appears

from it that he was one of Weston's men who arrived in the *Sparrow* at Damariscove, alluded to on page 114; that there were *ten* passengers, instead of seven, the number mentioned by Bradford. They arrive in April, take a shallop, under the direction of Mr. Gibbs, the mate, reach Smith's Islands, sail thence to Cape Ann, remain about Massachusetts Bay four or five days, fix on the south part of it, called Wessaguscus, for their settlement, which they purchase of Aberdecest, the sagamore; a patent having been previously obtained of the Council by Mr. Weston. Pratt and his associates visit Plymouth, where they are kindly received. On the arrival of the *Charity* and *Swan*, which bring more passengers for this colony, Pratt says: "Then we make haste to settle our plantation, our number being near sixty men.

with a small pack at his back ; and though he knew not a foote of y^e way, yet he got safe hither, but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued, and so was mist. He tould them hear how all things stood amongst them, and that he durst stay no longer, he apprehended they (by what he observed) would be all knokt in y^e head shortly. This made them make y^e more hast, & dispatched a boate away wth Capten Standish & some men, who found them in a miserable condition, out of which he rescued them, and helped them to some releef, cut of some few of y^e cheefe conspirators, and, according to his order, offered to bring them all hither if they thought good ; and they should fare no worse then themselves, till M^r. Weston or some supplie came to them. Or, if any other course liked them better, he was to doe them any helpfullnes he could. They thanked him & y^e rest. But most of them desired he would help them with some corne, and they would goc with their smale ship to y^e eastward, wher hapily they might here of M^r. Weston, or some supply from him, seing y^e time of y^e year was for fishing ships to [95] be in y^e land. If not, they would worke among y^e fishermen for their liveing, and get ther passage into England, if they heard nothing from M^r. Weston in time. So they shipped what they had of any worth, and he got them all y^e corne he could (scarce leaving to bring him home), and saw them well out of y^e bay, under saile at sea, and so came home, not takeing y^e worth of a peny of any thing that was theirs. I have but touched these things breefly, because they have allready been published in printe more at large.*

This was y^e end of these that some time bosted of their strength, (being all able lustie men,) and what they would

Near unto it is a town of later time called Waymouth." Of their number is a Mr. Salsbery, a chirurgeon. Pratt afterwards had lands allotted to him at Plymouth, where he also married ; he died at Charlestown, in 1680, at the

age of ninety. See Morton's Memorial, p. 42 ; Felt's Ecclesiastical Hist. of New England, pp. 53, 54 ; Drake's Hist. of Boston, p. 41 ; Hazard, I. 103. — Ed.

* In Winslow's Good News, in Young, pp. 313-345. — Ed.

doe & bring to pass, in comparison of y^e people hear, who had many women & children and weak ons amongst them; and said at their first arivall, when they saw the wants hear, that they would take an other course, and not to fall into shuch a condition, as this simple people were come too. But a mans way is not in his owne power; God can make y^e weake to stand; let him also that standeth take heed least he fall.

Shortly after, M^r. Weston came over with some of y^e fishermen, under another name, and y^e disguise of a blacke-smith, were he heard of y^e ruine and dissolution of his colony. He got a boat and with a man or 2. came to see how things were. But by y^e way, for wante of skill, in a storme, he cast away his shalop in y^e botome of y^e bay between Meremek river & Pascataquack, & hardly escaped with life, and afterwards fell into the hands of y^e Indecans, who pillaged him of all he saved from the sea, & striped him out of all his cloaths to his shirte. At last he got to Pascataquack, & borrowed a suite of cloaths, and got means to come to Plimoth. A strang alteration ther was in him to such as had seen & known him in his former flourishing condition; so uncertaine are y^e mutable things of this unstable world. And yet men set their harts upon them, though they dayly see y^e vanity therof.

After many passages, and much discourse, (former things boyling in his mind, but bit in as was discernd,) he desired to borrow some beaver of them; and tould them he had hope of a ship & good supply to come to him, and then they should have any thing for it they stood in neede of. They gave litle credite to his supplie, but pitied his case, and remembered former curtesies. They tould him he saw their wants, and they knew not when they should have any supply; also how y^e case stood betweene them & their adventurers, he well knew; they had not much bever, & if they should let him have it, it were enoughe to make a mutinie among y^e people, seeing ther was no other

means to procure them foode which they so much wanted, & cloaths allso. Yet they tould him they would help him, considering his necessitie, but must doe it secretly for y^e former reasons. So they let him have 100. beaver skins, which waighed 170^{li}. odd pounds. Thus they helped him when all y^e world faild him, and with this means he went againe to y^e ships, and stayed his small ship & some of his men, & bought provissions and fited him selfe; and it was y^e only foundation [96] of his after course. But he requited them ill, for he proved after a bitter enimie unto them upon all occasions, and never repayed them any thing for it, to this day, but reproches and evill words. Yea, he divolged it to some that were none of their best freinds, whilst he yet had y^e beaver in his boat; that he could now set them all together by y^e ears, because they had done more then they could answer, in letting him have this beaver, and he did not spare to doe what he could. But his malice could not prevaile.

All this while no supply was heard of, neither knew they when they might expecte any. So they begane to thinke* how they might raise as much corne as they could, and obtaine a beter crope then they had done, that they might not still thus languish in miserie. At length, after much debate of things, the Gov^r (with y^e advise of y^e cheefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne perticuler,† and in that regard trust to them selves; in all other things to goe on in y^e generall way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcell of land, according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (but made no devisiion for inheritance), and ranged all boys & youth under some familie. This had very good success; for it

* "The month of April being now come." Winslow, in Young, p. 346.
— Ed.

† "And bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of public offi-

cers, fishermen, &c., which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconveniences." Ibid., p. 347.
— Ed.

made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted then other waise would have bene by any means y^e Gov^r or any other could use, and saved him a great deall of trouble, and gave farr better contente. The women now wente willingly into y^e feild, and tooke their litle-ons with them to set corne, which before would aledg weaknes, and inabilitie; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression.*

The experience that was had in this com̄one course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceite of Platos & other ancients, applauded by some of later times; — that y^e taking away of propertie, and bringing in com̄unitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser then God. For this comunitie (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion & discontent, and retard much employ-
mēt that would have been to their benefite and comforte. For y^e yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour & service did repine that they should spend their time & streingth to worke for other mens wives and children, with out any recompence. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victails & cloaths, then he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter y^e other could; this was thought injustice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and [97] equalised in labours, and victails, cloaths, &c., with y^e meaner & yonger sorte, thought it some indignite & disrespect unto them. And for mens

* Judge Davis, in a note on Morton's Memorial, remarks, that "the community of interest which the colonists had hitherto maintained did not arise, as has been sometimes supposed, from any peculiar fantastic notions, but was required by the nature of their engagements with the merchant adventurers in England."

Although the articles of agreement, for the reasons which have been nar-

rated, were not subscribed by the planters till a year after their arrival here, yet it may be supposed that the terms of the contract were complied with during this period. It was only for reasons of the sternest necessity that the colonists were now compelled to deviate in the one particular stated in the text. Another allotment of land, it will be seen, was made the next year. See pp. 62, 72, 109. — Ed.

wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dresing their meate, washing their cloaths, &c., they deemed it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it. Upon y^e poynte all being to have alike, and all to doe alike, they thought them selves in y^e like condition, and one as good as another; and so, if it did not cut of those relations that God hath set amongst men, yet it did at least much diminish and take of y^e mutuall respects that should be preserved amongst them. And would have bene worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none objecte this is men's corruption, and nothing to y^e course it selfe. I answer, séeing all men have this corruption in them, God in his wisdome saw another course fiter for them.

But to returne. After this course settled, and by that their co^re was planted, all ther victails were spent, and they were only to rest on Gods providence; at night not many times knowing wher to have a bitt of any thing y^e next day. And so, as one well observed, had need to pray that God would give them their dayly brade, above all people in y^e world. Yet they bore these wants with great patience & allacritie of spirite, and that for so long a time as for y^e most parte of 2. years; which makes me remember what Peter Martire writs, (in magnifying y^e Spaniards) in his 5. Decade, pag. 208.* *They (saith he) led a miserable life for 5. days togeather, with y^e parched graine of maize only, and that not to saturitie; and then concluds, that shuch pains, shuch labours, and shuch hunger, he thought none living which is not a Spaniard could have endured. But alas! these, when they had maize (y^t is, Indean corne) they thought it as good as a feast, and*

* The work here cited is "De Nouo Orbe, or The Historie of the west Indies," &c. "Comprised in Eight Decades. Written by *Peter Martyr*, a *Milanoise of Angleria*, chiefe Secretary to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, and his Priuie Councell," &c. &c. Lon-

don, 1612. The last five Decades in this volume were translated from the original Latin by "M. Lok, Gent.;" the first three having been previously translated by Richard Eden. This same edition was also issued with different titles. — Ed.

wanted not only for 5. days together, but some time 2. or 3. months together, and neither had bread nor any kind of corne. Indeed, in an other place, in his 2. Decade, page 94. he mentions how others of them were worse put to it, wher they were faine to eate doggs, toads, and dead men, and so dyed almost all. From these extremities the Lord in his goodnes kept these his people, and in their great wants preserved both their lives and healthes ; let his name have y^e praise. Yet let me hear make use of his conclusion, which in some sorte may be applied to this people : *That with their miseries they opened a way to these new-lands ; and after these stormes, with what ease other men came to inhabite in them, in respecte of y^e calamities these men suffered ; so as they seeme to goe to a bride feast wher all things are provided for them.*

They haveing but one boat left and she not over well fitted, they were devided into severall companies, 6. or 7. to a gangg or company, and so wente out with a nett they had bought, to take bass & such like fish, by course, every company knowing their turne. No sooner was y^e boate discharged [98] of what she brought, but y^e next company tooke her and wente out with her. Neither did they returne till they had caught something, though it were 5. or 6. days before, for they knew ther was nothing at home, and to goe home emptie would be a great discouragemente to y^e rest. Yea, they strive who should doe best. If she stayed longe or got litle, then all went to seeking of shellfish, which at low-water they digged out of y^e sands. And this was their living in y^e somer time, till God sente y^m beter ; & in winter they were helped with ground-nuts and foule. Also in y^e somer they gott now & then a deer ; for one or 2. of y^e fittest was apoynted to range y^e woods for y^t end, & what was gott that way was devided amongst them.

At length they received some leters from y^e adventurers, too long and tedious hear to record, by which they heard

of their further crosses and frustrations ; begining in this maner.

Loving freinds,* as your sorrows & afflictions have bin great, so our croses & interceptions in our proceedings hear, have not been small. For after we had with much trouble & charge sente y^e *Parragon* away to sea,† and thought all y^e paine past, within 14. days after she came againe hither, being dangerously leaked, and brused with tempestious stormes, so as shee was faine to be had into y^e docke, and an 100^{li}. bestowed upon her. All y^e passengers lying upon our charg for 6. or 7. weeks, and much discontent and distemper was occasioned hereby, so as some dangerous evente had like to inseed. But we trust all shall be well and worke for y^e best and your benefite, if yet with patience you can waite, and but have strength to hold in life. Whilst these things were doing, M^r. Westons ship ‡ came and brought diverce leters from you, &c. It rejoyseth us much to hear of those good reports yⁱ diverce have brought home from you, &c.

So farr of this leter.

This ship was bought by M^r. John Peirce, and set out at his owne charge, upon hope of great maters. These passengers, & y^e goods the company sent in her, he tooke in for fraught, for which they agreed with him to be delivered hear. This was he in whose name their *first patente*§ was taken, by reason of acquaintance, and some aliance that some of their freinds had with him. But his name was only used in trust. But when he saw they were hear hopfully thus seated, and by y^e success God gave them had obtained y^e favour of y^e Counsell of New-England, he goes and sues to them for *another patent* of much larger extente (in their names), which was easily obtained. But he mente to keep it to him selfe and alow

* These letters were dated Des. 21. 1622. [Prince, I. 135, errs in giving December 22d as the date of these letters. — Ed.]

† Smith says, in his *New England's Trials*, "To supply them this 16th of October is going the *Paragon* with 67 persons." In his *Generall Historie*,

published two years later, he says. "The *Paragon* with thirty-seven men, sent to relieve them, miscarried twice." — Ed.

‡ The Charity, which left the colony "in the end of September or the beginning of October" previous. — Ed.

§ See p. 107. — Ed.

them what he pleased, to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as cheefe Lord, as will appear by that which follows. But y^e Lord marvelously crost him; for after this first returne, and y^e charge above mentioned, when shee was againe fitted, he pesters him selfe and taks in more passengers, and those not very good to help to bear his losses, and sets out y^e 2. time. But [99] what y^e event was will appear from another leter from one of y^e cheefe of y^e company, dated y^e 9. of Aprill, 1623. writ to y^e Gov^r hear, as followeth.

Loving freind, when I write my last leter, I hoped to have received one from you well-nigh by this time. But when I write in Des: I litle thought to have seen Mr. John Peirce till he had brought some good tidings from you. But it pleased God, he brought us y^e wofull tidings of his returne when he was half-way over, by extraime tempest, werin y^e goodnes & mercie of God appeared in sparing their lives, being 109. souls. The loss is so great to Mr. Peirce, &c., and y^e companie put upon so great charge, as verily, &c.

Now with great trouble & loss, we have got Mr. John Peirce to assigne over y^e grand patente* to y^e companie,† which he had taken in his owne name, and made quite voyd our former grante. I am sorie to writ how many hear thinke y^t the hand of God was justly against him, both y^e first and 2. time of his returne; in regard he, whom you and we so confidently trusted, but only to use his name for y^e company, should aspire to be lord over us all, and so make you & us tenants at his will and pleasure, our assurance or patente being quite voyd & disanuled by his means. I desire to judg charitably of him. But his unwillingnes to part

* It appears from the Council records of London, in the State Paper Office, abstracts of which were made by the Rev. J. B. Felt, that on the 20th of April, 1622, Peirce obtained a grant for himself and associates as a joint interest; but on the same day gave this up, and procured a patent or "Deed Pole" of the said lands to himself, for his heirs, associates, and assigns for ever. With this proceeding the adventurers in Plymouth colony find fault, and conceive themselves deceived by Peirce.

It appears also that the colony was called, in England, Peirce's Plantation. Under the date of May 18th, 1623, it is stated, that the difficulty between John Peirce and his associates is settled. This patent is not extant, and it may never have been sent to the colony. In the first patent, alluded to on page 107, Peirce is styled "citizen and cloth-worker of London." — Ed.

† "By this *Company* seems to be meant the Adventurers to Plymouth Colony." Prince, I. 136. — Ed.

with his royall Lordship, and y^e high-rate he set it at, which was 500^{li}. which cost him but 50^{li}., maks many speake and judg hardly of him. The company are out for goods in his ship, with charge aboute y^e passengers, 640^{li}., &c.

We have agreed with 2. marchants for a ship of 140. tunes, caled y^e *Anne*, which is to be ready y^e last of this month, to bring 60. passengers & 60. tune of goods, &c.

This was dated April 9. 1623.

These were ther owne words and judgmente of this mans dealing & proceedings; for I thought it more meete to render them in theirs then my owne words. And yet though ther was never got other recompence then the resignation of this patente, and y^e shares he had in adventure, for all y^e former great sumes, he was never quiet, but sued them in most of y^e cheefe courts in England, and when he was still cast, brought it to y^e Parlemeute. But he is now dead, and I will leave him to y^e Lord.

This ship suffered y^e greatest extremitie at sea at her 2. returne, that one shall lightly hear of, to be saved; as I have been informed by M^r. William Peirce who was then m^r. of her, and many others that were passengers in her. It was aboute y^e *middle of Feb*: The storme was for y^e most parte of 14. days, but for 2. or 3. days & nights together in most violent extremitie. After they had cut downe their mast, y^e storme beat of their round house and all their uper works; 3. men had worke enough at y^e helme, and he that cund* y^e ship before y^e sea, was faine [100] to be bound fast for washing away; the seas did so over-rake them, as many times those upon y^e decke knew not whether they were within bord or withoute; and once she was so foundered in y^e sea as they all thought she would never rise againe. But yet y^e Lord preserved them, and brought them at last safe to *Ports-mouth*, to y^e won-

* *Cunn, Cond, or Conn,* (sea-term,) "to conduct or guide a ship in the right course, for he that conns stands aloft with a compass before him, and gives

the word of direction to the man at the helm how to steer." Phillips's *World of Words*. "He that cund" the Paragon was probably not "aloft." — Ed.

der of all men y^t saw in what a case she was in, and heard what they had endured.

About y^e later end of *June* came in a ship, with Capitaine Francis West, who had a comission to be admirall of New-England,* to restraine interlopers, and shuch fishing ships as came to fish & trade without a licence from y^e Counsell of New-England, for which they should pay a round sune of money. But he could doe no good of them, for they were to stronge for him, and he found y^e fisher men to be stuberne fellows. And their owners, upon complainte made to y^e Parlemeⁿte, procured an order y^t fishing should be free.† He tould y^e Gov^r they spooke with a ship at sea, and were aboard her, y^t was coming for this plantation, in which were sundrie passengers, and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage; for they lost her in a storme‡ that fell shortly after they had been aboard. Which relation filled them full of fear, yet mixed with hope. The m^t. of this ship had some 2. hh of pease to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at 9th. sterling a hoggshead, & under 8th. he would not take, and yet would have beaver at an under rate. But they tould him they had lived so long with out, and would doe still, rather then give so unreasonably. So they went from hence to Virginia.§

* "Nov. 2d, 1622. Order for Captain Francis West's commission, to be appointed Admiral of New England, to go out in the ship called the Plantation. Nov. 2d. Captain Thomas Squib was commissioned as aid to the Admiral. Nov. 30th. Captain West's commission as Admiral of New England sealed." *Felt's Memoranda from the Council Records.* — ED.

† The question of the fisheries occasioned an earnest debate in Parliament, and the Great Patent of New England was denounced as a monopoly. "Shall none," observed Coke to Sir F. Gorges, "visit the sea-coast for fishing? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which were wont to be free. If you alone are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and sun."

The bill first reported on the 17th of March, 1623-4, passed, but never received the royal assent. See Bancroft, I. 326, 327. — ED.

‡ Prince, I. 137, citing this History at this place, says, "lost her *mast* in a storm," &c., which a reinspection of the original manuscript shows to be an inaccurate reading of the text. — ED.

§ I may not here omite how, notwithstanding all their great paines & industrie, and y^e great hops of a large cropp, the Lord seemed to blast, & take away the same, and to threaten further & more sore famine unto them, by a great drought which continued from y^e 3. weeke in May, till about y^e middle of July, without any raine, and with great heat (for y^e most parte), insomuch as y^e corne begane to wither

About 14. days after came in this ship, caled y^e *Anne*, wherof M^r. William Peirce was m^r., and aboute a weeke or 10. days after came in y^e pinass* which in foule weather they lost at sea, a fine new vessell of about 41. tune,† which y^e company had builte to stay in the cuntrie. They brought about 60. persons‡ for y^e generall, some of them being very usefull persons, and became good mem-

away, though it was set with fishe, the moysture wherof helped it much. Yet at length it begane to languish sore, and some of y^e drier grounds were parched like withered hay, part wherof was never recovered. Upon which they sett a parte a solemne day of humilliation, to seek y^e Lord by humble & fervente prayer, in this great distrese. And he was pleased to give them a gracious & speedy answer, both to their owne, & the Indeans admiration, that lived amongst them. For all y^e morning, and greatest part of the day, it was clear weather & very hotte, and not a cloud or any signe of raine to be seen, yet toward evening it begane to overcast, and shortly after to raine, with shuch sweete and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoyceing, & blessing God. It came, without either wind, or thunder, or any violence, and by degreese in y^e abundance, as that y^e earth was thorowly wete and soked therewith. Which did so apparently revive & quicken y^e decayed corne & other fruits, as was wonderfull to see, and made y^e Indeans astonished to behold; and afterwards the Lord sent them shuch seasonable showers, with interchange of faire warme weather, as, through his blessing, caused a fruitfull & liberrall harvest, to their no small comforte and rejoycing. For which mercie (in time conveniente) they also sett aparte a day of thanksgivinge. This being overslipt in its place, I thought meet here to inserte y^e same.

[The above is written on the reverse of page 103 of the original, and should properly be inserted here. This passage, "being overslipt in its place," the author at first wrote it, or the most of it, under the preceding year; but, discovering his error before completing it, drew his pen across it, and wrote beneath, "This is to be here rased out, and is to be placed on page 103, wher

it is inserted." The compiler of the Memorial, however, very blindly places the passage under the year 1622. — Ed.

* "In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August, came two ships with supply unto us; who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short time; who, also, notwithstanding all our wants and hardship, blessed be God! found not any one sick person amongst us at the Plantation. The bigger ship, called the *Anne*, was hired and there again freighted back; from whence we set sail the 10th of September. The lesser, called the *Little James*, was built for the company at their charge. She was now also fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod." Winslow, in *Young*, pp. 351 – 353. — Ed.

† The *Little James*, "Mr. Bridges being master thereof." Morton's Memorial, p. 48. — Ed.

‡ See list of passengers in *Young*, p. 352. This list and that of the passengers who came in the *Fortune*, in 1621, are obtained from the record of the allotment of lands, in 1624; for which see Hazard, I. 101 – 103. Among the passengers in the *Anne* were George Morton and family, which included his son Nathaniel Morton, afterwards distinguished as the Secretary of the colony, and the compiler of "New-England's Memoriall." Nathaniel was twelve years old when he arrived. In the preface to his book he styles Governor Bradford "my much honored uncle"; and it is said that his mother was a sister of Bradford. See Davis's edition of the Memorial, preface.

Mrs. Alice Southworth, widow, came with these passengers, and on the 14th of August, about a fortnight after her arrival, was married to Governor Bradford, being the fourth marriage in the colony. See p. 71, note *; Prince, I. 140. — Ed.

bers to y^e body, and some were y^e wives and children of shuch as were hear allready. And some were so bad, as they were faine to be at charge to send them home againe y^e next year. Also, besides these ther came a company, that did not belong to y^e generall body, but came one* their perticuler, and were to have lands assigned them, and be for them selves, yet to be subjecte to y^e generall Goverment; which caused some diferance and disturbance [101] amongst them, as will after appeare. I shall hear againe take libertie to inserte a few things out of shuch leters as came in this shipe, desiring rather to manefest things in ther words and apprehentions, then in my owne, as much as may be, without tediousness.

Beloved freinds, I kindly salute you all, with trust of your healths & wellfare, being right sorie y^t no supplie hath been made to you all this while; for defence wher of, I must referr you to our generall leters. Naitheir indeed have we now sent you many things, which we should & would, for want of money. But persons, more then inough, (though not all we should,) for people come flying in upon us, but monys come creeping in to us. Some few of your old freinds are come, as, &c. So they come dropping to you, and by degrees, I hope ere long you shall enjoye them all. And because people press so hard upon us to goe, and often shuch as are none of y^e fittest, I pray you write earnestly to y^e Treasurer and directe what persons should be sente. It greeveth me to see so weake a company sent you, and yet had I not been hear they had been weaker. You must still call upon the company hear to see y^t honest men be sente you, and threaten to send them back if any other come, &c. We are not any way so much in danger, as by corrupte an noughty persons. Shuch, and shuch, came without my consente; but y^e importunitie of their freinds got promise of our Treasurer in my absence. Neither is ther need we should take any lewd men, for we may have honest men enew, &c.†

Your assured freind,

R. C.‡

* On. — Ed.

† There is no date to this and the following letter, but they were probably written about the time of the sailing of

the Anne, which the adventurers hoped to despatch by the end of April. See p. 140. — Ed.

‡ Robert Cushman. — Ed.

The following was from y^e genrall.

Loving freinds, we most hartily salute you in all love and hartly affliction; being yet in hope y^t the same God which hath hitherto preserved you in a marvelous maner, doth yet continue your lives and health, to his owne praise and all our comfort. Being right sory that you have not been sent unto all this time, &c. We have in this ship sent shuch women, as were willing and ready to goe to their husbands and freinds, with their children, &c. We would not have you discontente, because we have not sent you more of your old freinds, and in spetiall, him^r on whom you most depend. Farr be it from us to neclecte you, or contemne him. But as y^e intente was at first, so y^e evente at last shall shew it, that we will deal fairly, and squarly answer your expectations to the full. Ther are also come unto you, some honest men to plant upon their particulers besids you. A thing which if we should not give way unto, we should wrong both them and you. Them, by puting them on things more inconveniente, and you, for that being honest men, they will be a strengthening to y^e place, and good neighbours [102] unto you. Tow things we would advise you of, which we have likewise signified them hear. First, y^e trade for skins to be retained for the generall till y^e devidente; 2^{ly}. y^t their setling by you, be with shuch distance of place as is neither inconvenient for y^e lying of your lands, nor hurtfull to your speedy & easie assembling together.

We have sente you diverse fisher men, with salte, &c. Diverse other provissions we have sente you, as will appear in your bill of lading, and though we have not sent all we would (because our cash is small), yet it is y^t we could, &c.

And although it seemeth you have discovered many more rivers and fertill grounds then y^t wher you are, yet seeing by Gods providence y^t place fell to your^r lote, let it be accounted as your portion; and rather fixe your eyes upon that which may be done ther, then languish in hops after things els-wher. If your place be not y^e best, it is better, you shall be y^e less envied and encroached upon; and shuch as are earthly minded, will not settle too near your border.† If y^e land afford you bread, and y^e sea yeeld you fish, rest you a while contented, God will one

* I. R.

† This proved rather, a propheti, then advice.

day afford you better fare. And all men shall know you are neither fugitives nor discontents. But can, if God so order it, take y^e worst to your selves, with content,* & leave y^e best to your neighbours, with cherfullnes.

Let it not be greeveous unto you y^t you have been instruments to breake y^e ise for others who come after with less difficulty, the honour shall be yours to y^e worlds end, &c.

We bear you always in our breasts, and our harty affection is towards you all, as are y^e harts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtles pray for your saftie as their owne, as we our selves both doe & ever shall, that y^e same God which hath so marvelously preserved you from seas, foes, and famine, will still preserve you from all future dangers, and make you honourable amongst men, and glorious in blise at y^e last day. And so y^e Lord be with you all & send us joyfull news from you, and inable us with one shoulder so to accomplish & perfect this worke, as much glorie may come to Him y^t confoundeth y^e mighty by the weak, and maketh small things great. To whose greatnes, be all glorie for ever & ever.

This leter was subscribed with 13. of their names.

These passengers, when they saw their low & poore condition a shore, were much danted and dismayed, and according to their diverse humores were diversly affected; some wished them selves in England againe; others fell a weeping, fancying their own miserie in what y^{ey} saw now in others; other some pitying the distress they saw their freinds had been long in, and still were under; in a word, all were full of sadnes. Only some of their old freinds rejoysed to see them, and y^t it was no worse with them, for they could not expecte it should be better, and now hoped they should injoye better days together. And truly it was [103] no marvell they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, many were ragged in aparell, & some litle beter then halfe naked; though some y^t were stord before, were well enough in this regard. But for food they were all alike, save some y^t had

* *Contend* in the manuscript. — Ep.

got a few pease of y^e ship y^t was last hear. The best dish they could presente their freinds with was a lobster, or a peece of fish, without bread or any thing els but a cupp of fair spring water. And y^e long continuance of this diate, and their labours abroad, had something abated y^e freshnes of their former complexion. But God gave them health and strength in a good measure; and shewed them by experience y^e truth of y^t word, Deut. 8. 3. *Y^e man lieth not by bread only, but by every word y^t proceedeth out of y^e mouth of y^e Lord doth a man live.*

When I think how sadly y^e scripture speaks of the famine in Jaakobs time, when he said to his sonns, Goe buy us food, that we may live and not dye. Gen. 42. 2. and 43. 1, that the famine was great, or heavie in the land; and yet they had such great herds, and store of catle of sundrie kinds, which, besides flesh, must needs produce other food, as milke, butter & cheese, &c., and yet it was counted a sore affliction; theirs hear must needs be very great, therefore, who not only wanted the staffe of bread, but all these things, and had no Egipte to goe too. But God fedd them out of y^e sea for y^e most parte, so wonderfull is his providence over his in all ages; for his mercie endureth for ever.

On y^e other hand the old planters were affraid that their corne, when it was ripe, should be imparted to y^e new-comers, whose provissions w^{ch} they brought with them they feared would fall short before y^e year wente aboute (as indeed it did). They came to y^e Gov^r and besought him that as it was before agreed that they should set corne for their perticuler, and accordingly they had taken extraordinary pains ther aboute, that they might freely injoye the same, and they would not have a bitte of y^e victails now come, but waite till harvest for their owne, and let y^e new-comers injoye what they had brought; they would have none of it, excepte they could purchase any of it of them by bargaine or exchange. Their requeste was

granted them, for it gave both sides good contente; for y^e new-comers were as much afraid that y^e hungrie planters would have eat up y^e provissions brought, and they should have fallen into y^e like condition.

This ship was in a shorte time laden with clapbord, by y^e help of many hands. Also they sente in her all y^e beaver and other furs they had, & M^r. Winslow was sent over with her,* to informe of all things, and procure such things as were thought needfull for their presente condition. By this time harvest was come, and in stead of famine, now God gave them plentie, and y^e face of things was changed, to y^e rejoysing of y^e harts of many, for which they blessed God. And y^e effect of their particuler planting was well seene, for all had, one way & other, pretty well to bring y^e year aboute, and some of y^e abler sorte and more [104] industrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any generall wante or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day.

Those that come on their perticuler looked for greater matters then they found or could attaine unto, aboute building great houses, and such pleasant situations for them, as them selves had fancied; as if they would be great men & rich, all of a sudaine; but they proved castls in y^e aire. These were y^e conditions agreed on betweene y^e colony and them.

First, that y^e Gov^r, in y^e name and with y^e consente of y^e company, doth in all love and frendship receive and embrace them; and is to allote them competente places for habitations within y^e towne. And promiseth to shew them all such other curtesies as shall be reasonable for them to desire, or us to performe.

2. That they, on their parts, be subjecte to all such laws & orders as are already made, or hear after shall be, for y^e publick good.

* The Anne sailed the 10th of September. See p. 111, note, and p. 142, note *. — Ed.

3. That they be freed and exempte from y^e generall imployments of the said company, (which their presente condition of comunitie requireth,) excepte commune defence, & such other imployments as tend to y^e perpetuall good of y^e collony.

4^{ly}. Towards y^e maintenance of Gov^rⁿ, & publick officers of y^e said collony, every male above y^e age of 16. years shall pay a bushell of Indean wheat, or y^e worth of it, into y^e commune store.

5^{ly}. That (according to y^e agreemente y^e marchants made with y^m before they came) they are to be wholly debared from all trade with the Indians for all sorts of furs, and such like commodities, till y^e time of y^e comunallitie be ended.

About y^e midle of September arrived Capitaine Robart Gorges* in y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts, with sundrie pas-

* Robert Gorges had a grant of land in Massachusetts, from the Council of New England, dated December 30th, 1622. He was sent over to reform abuses committed by the fishermen and other interlopers, and to regulate the affairs of the corporation. "My son Robert Gorges," writes Sir Ferdinand, "being newly come out of the Venetian war, was the man they were pleased to pitch upon, being one of the Company, and interested in a proportion of the land with the rest of the patentees, in the Bay of *Majechewsett*, containing ten miles in breadth, and thirty miles into the main land, who between my Lord Gorges and myself was speedily sent away into the said Bay of *Massechewset*, where he arrived about the beginning of August following, Anno 1623, that being the place he resolved to make his residence, as proper for the public, as well as for his private, where landing his provisions, and building his storehouses, he sent to them of *New-Plymouth* (who by his commission were authorized to be his assistants) to come unto him, who willingly obeyed his order, and as carefully discharged their duties," &c. See Gorges's Briefe Narration, p. 33. Robert Gorges's patent, which is in the same work, pp. 34-37, is described as

lying on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay, together with all the shores and coasts along the sea, for ten English miles in a straight line towards the northeast, and thirty English miles unto the main land. This was "loose and uncertain." After his death the grant fell to his eldest brother, John Gorges, who, in January, 1628-9, conveyed a portion of the territory to Sir William Brereton, who sent over families and servants to occupy it.

John Oldham was also interested in a grant or "lease" under this patent, and both he and Brereton occasioned some trouble to the Massachusetts Company, whose subsequent grant embraced all this territory. Their claims were not acknowledged, and the title of Oldham appears to have been considered by this Company "void in law." For a full history of these claims, see Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, 1st ed., I. 6, 7; Maine Hist. Coll., II. 46, 47; Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, pp. 51, 52, 122, 123, 147, 148, 169-171. Possibly Governor Gorges may have "pitched upon the place Mr. Weston's people had forsaken" for his settlement, supposing it to be embraced within his grant. — Ed.

sengers and families, intending ther to begine a plantation; and pitched upon y^e place M^r. Weston's people had forsaken. He had a comission from y^e Counsell of New-England, to be generall Gove^r of y^e cuntrie, and they apoynted for his counsell & assistance, Captaine Francis West, y^e aforesaid admirall, Christopher Levite,* Esquire, and y^e Gov^r of Plimoth for y^e time beeing, &c. Allso, they gave him authoritie to chuse such other as he should find fit. Allso, they gave (by their comission) full power to him & his assistants, or any 3. of them, wherof him selfe was allway to be one, to doe and execute what to them should seeme good, in all cases, Capitall, Criminall, and Civill, &c., with diverce other instructions. Of which, & his comission, it pleased him to suffer y^e Gov^r hear to take a copy.

He gave them notice of his arivall by letter, but before they could visite him he went to y^e eastward with y^e ship he came in; but a storme arising, (and they wanting a good pilot to harbor them in those parts,) they bore up for this harbor. He and his men were hear kindly entertained; he stayed hear 14. days. In y^e mean time came in M^r. Weston with his small ship, which he had now recovered. [105] Captaine Gorges tooke hold of y^e opportunitie, and acquainted y^e Gov^r hear, that one occasion of his going to y^e eastward was to meete with M^r. Weston,

* On his return to England, Levett published an account of his "Voyage into New England, begun in 1623, and ended in 1624." During his residence in the country, he appears to have confined his attention chiefly to the eastern coast, which he explored for the purpose of selecting a place for a settlement; and pitched upon a spot called Quack, named by him York, for that purpose. The location of this place is uncertain, neither name being preserved. He describes it as "about two leagues to the east of Cape Elizabeth." Soon after his arrival, he visited the plantation of Mr. Thompson at the mouth of the Piscataqua, where he stayed about one

month, in which time he sent for his men from the east, who came over in divers ships. "At this place," he says, "I met with the Governor [Gorges], who came thither in a bark which he had from one M. Weston about twenty days before I arrived in the land. The Governor then told me that I was joined with him in commission as a councilor, which being read I found it was so. And he then, in the presence of three more of the council, administered unto me an oath." Levett speaks of Cape Ann, Massachusetts, and Plymouth, neither of which places did he visit. See Maine Hist. Coll., II. 79, 80, 81, 85. — Ed.

and call him to accounte for some abuses he had to lay to his charge. Wherupon he called him before him, and some other of his assistants, with y^e Gov^r of this place; and charged him, first, with y^e ille carriage of his men at y^e Massachusets; by which means the peace of y^e cuntrie was disturbed, and him selfe & the people which he had brought over to plante in that bay were therby much prejudised. To this M^r. Weston easily answered, that what was that way done, was in his absence, and might have befallen any man; he left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed; and for any errour comitted he had sufficiently smarted. This particuler was passed by. A 2^d. was, for an abuse done to his father, S^r. Ferdinando Gorges, and to y^e State. The thing was this; he used him & others of y^e Counsell of New-England, to procure him a licence for y^e transporting of many peeces of great ordnance for New-England, pretending great fortification hear in y^e countrie, & I know not what shipping. The which when he had obtained, he went and sould them beyond seas for his private profite; for which (he said) y^e State was much offended, and his father suffered a shrowd check, and he had order to apprehend him for it. M^r. Weston excused it as well as he could, but could not deny it; it being one maine thing (as was said) for which he with-drew himself. But after many passages, by y^e mediation of y^e Gov^r and some other freinds hear, he was inclined to gentlnes (though he apprehended y^e abuse of his father deeply); which, when M^r. Weston saw, he grew more presumptuous, and gave such provocking & cutting speches, as made him rise up in great indignation & distemper, and vowed y^t he would either curb him, or send him home for England. At which M^r. Weston was something danted, and came privatly to y^e Gov^r hear, to know whether they would suffer Captaine Gorges to apprehend him. He was tould they could not hinder him, but much blamed him, y^t after they had paci-

fied things, he should thus breake out, by his owne folly & rashnes, to bring trouble upon him selfe & them too. He confest it was his passion, and prayd y^e Gov^r to entreat for him, and pacifie him if he could. The which at last he did, with much adoe; so he was called againe, and y^e Gov^r* was contente to take his owne bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or y^e lords should send for him. And at last he tooke only his word, and ther was a freidly parting on all hands.

But after he was gone, M^r. Weston in lue of thanks to y^e Gov^r and his freinds hear, gave them this quib (behind their baks) for all their pains. That though^t they were but yonge justices, yet they wear good beggers. Thus they parted at this time, and shortly after y^e Gov^r tooke his leave and went to y^e Massachusetts by land, being very thankfull for his kind entertainemente. The ship stayed hear, and fitted her selfe to goe for Virginia, having some passengers ther to deliver; and with her returned sundrie of those from hence which came over on their per-ticuler, some out of discontente and dislike of y^e cuntrie; others by reason of a fire † that broke out, and burnt y^e houses they lived in, and all their provisions [106] so as they were necessitated therunto. This fire was occasioned by some of y^e sea-men that were roystering in a house wher it first begane, makeing a great fire in very cold weather, which broke out of y^e chimney into y^e thatch, and burnt downe 3. or 4. houses, ‡ and consumed all y^e goods & provissions in y^m. The house in which it begane was right against their store-house, which they had much adoe to save, in which were their comone store & all their

* That is, Governor Gorges. — Ed.

† "This was on the fifth of November, 1624 [1623]." Morton's Memorial, p. 51. Among those who met with losses by this fire, and went back to England at this time, was Mr. Timothy Hatherly, who came in the Anne. He subsequently returned to the colony. Ibid., p. 47. — Ed.

‡ "Smith says there were seven houses burnt; but perhaps by mistake he may account therewith the two burnt in 1621; and Mr. Hubbard seems to mistake in writing as if the *common house* were burnt, whereas the fire was only right over against it." Prince, I. 142. — Ed.

provisions; y^e which if it had been lost, y^e plantation had been overthrowne. But through Gods mercie it was saved by y^e great dilligence of y^e people, & care of y^e Gov^r & some aboute him. Some would have had y^e goods throwne out; but if they had, ther would much have been stolne by the rude company y^t belonged to these 2. ships, which were allmost all ashore. But a trusty company was plased within, as well as those that with wet-cloaths & other means kept of y^e fire without, that if necessitie required they might have them out with all speed. For y^e suspected some malicious dealling, if not plaine treacherie, and whether it was only suspition or no, God knows; but this is certaine, that when y^e tumulte was greatest, ther was a voyce heard (but from whom it was not knowne) that bid them looke well aboute them, for all were not freinds y^t were near them. And shortly after, when the vemencie of y^e fire was over, smoke was seen to arise within a shed y^t was joynd to y^e end of y^e storehouse, which was watled up with bowes, in y^e withered leaves wherof y^e fire was kindled, which some, ruīing to quench, found a longe firebrand of an ell longe, lying under y^e wale on y^e inside, which could not possibly come their by cassualtie, but must be laid ther by some hand, in y^e judgmente of all that saw it. But God kept them from this deanger, what ever was intended.

Shortly after Captaine Gorges, y^e generall Gov^r, was come home to y^e Massachusets, he sends a warrante to arrest M^r. Weston & his ship, and sends a m^r. to bring her away thither, and one Captain Hanson (that belonged to him) to conducte him along. The Gov^r & others hear were very sory to see him take this course, and tooke exception at y^e warrante, as not legall nor sufficient; and withall write to him to disswade him from this course, shewing him y^t he would but entangle and burthen him selfe in doing this; for he could not doe M^r. Weston a better turne, (as things stood with him); for he had a

great many men that belonged to him in this barke, and was deeply ingaged to them for wages, and was in a manner out of victails (*and now winter*); all which would light upon him, if he did arrest his barke. In y^e mean time M^r. Weston had notice to shift for him selfe; but it was conceived he either knew not whither to goe, or how to mend him selfe, but was rather glad of y^e occasion, and so stirred not. But y^e Gov^r would not be perswaded, but [107] sent a very formall warrente under his hand & seall, with strict charge as they would answere it to y^e state; he also write that he had better considered of things since he was hear, and he could not answer it to let him goe so; besides other things that were come to his knowledg since, which he must answer too. So he was suffered to proceede, but he found in the end that to be true that was tould him; for when an inventorie was taken of what was in y^e ship, ther was not vitales found for above 14. days, at a pare allowance, and not much else of any great worth, & the men did so crie out of him for wages and diate, in y^e mean time, as made him soone weary. So as in conclusion it turned to his loss, and y^e expence of his owne provissions; and *towards the spring* they came to agreement, (after they had bene to y^e eastward,) and y^e Gov^r restord him his vessell againe, and made him satisfaction, in bisket, meal, and such like provissions, for what he had made use of that was his, or what his men had any way wasted or consumed. So M^r. Weston* came hither againe, and afterward shaped his course for Virginie, & so for present I shall leave him.†

* Thomas Morton, in his *New English Canaan*, gives an incoherent account of Weston's arrest, and of the seizure of his ship; and intimates that the Plymouth planters connived at the act, which latter is not to be credited.

Weston's misfortunes appear to have excited the sympathy of Bradford. Of the character of the men composing his plantation, all contemporary accounts agree. Even Thomas Morton, who

knew them well, admits that they were "men made choice of at all adventures, . . . many of them lazy persons that would use no endeavor to take the benefit of the country." Christopher Levett, before cited, bears a similar testimony. See *New English Canaan*, pp. 106, 108, 113-115; *Levett's Voyage*, in 3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, VIII. 182.—Ed.

† He dyed afterwards at Bristoll, in

The Gov^r and some y^e depended upon him returned for England, haveing scarcely saluted y^e cuntrie in his Governem^{te}, not finding the state of things hear to answer his quallitie & condition. The peopl dispersed them selves, some went for England, others for Virginia, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from hence. The Gov^r brought over a minister with him, one M^r. Morell,* who, about a year after y^e Gov^r returned, tooke shipping from hence. He had I know not what power and authority of superintendancie over other churches granted him, and sundrie instructions for that end; but he never shewed it, or made any use of it; (it should seeme he saw it was in vaine;) he only speake of it to some hear at his going away. This was in effect y^e end of a 2. plantation in that place. Ther were allso this year some scatering beginings made in other places, as at Paskataway, by M^r. David Thomson,† at Monhigen,‡ and some other places by sundrie others.

y^e time of the warrs, of y^e sicknes in y^e place.

* Mr. William Morrell was an Episcopal clergyman, and a person of fine classical taste. "During his residence in the country he was employed in composing a Latin poem descriptive of New England, its inhabitants and productions," of which he made a free translation into English verse; and after his return to England published them both in one pamphlet. See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 125-139; Davis's edition of the Memorial, pp. 108, 109. — Ed.

† Thompson was sent over by Mason and Gorges, — who, the year before, had procured the Laconia grant, — and commenced the settlement, in the spring of this year, at a place called Little Harbor, on the west side of Piscataqua River, near its mouth. He probably remained there till 1626, although Hubbard states that "he removed down into the Massachusetts Bay within a year after" he began that plantation. It is certain, from this History, that he was residing at Piscataqua in 1626; for Bradford speaks of "Mr. David Thomson, who lived at Pascataway,"

as joining Winslow and himself in a trading expedition that year to Monhegan. It further appears, from the Mass. Colony Records, that "in and about the year 1626" Thompson took possession of the island in Boston harbor which bears his name, "and did erect the form of a habitation" there. He died soon after, leaving an infant son, to whom and his heirs, in 1648, the Court did "grant the said island." See further under the year 1626; Winslow, in Young, pp. 350, 351; Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, p. 10; Records of Massachusetts, edited by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M. D., III. 129, 130. — Ed.

‡ Monhegan Island was in ancient times the most famous one on the seaboard of Maine. It was the land arrived at and first mentioned by the original voyagers and fishermen who visited these shores. In 1626, Abraham Shurte was sent over by Elbridge and Aldsworth, who purchased the island of Abraham Jennings, of Plymouth, England, for which he gave £ 50. See Williamson's History of Maine, p. 61. — Ed.

It rests now y^e I speake a word aboute y^e piñass* spoken of before, which was sent by y^e adventurers to be imployed in y^e cuntrie. She was a fine vessell, and bravely set out,† and I fear y^e adventurers did over pride them selves in her, for she had ill success. How ever, they erred grosly in tow things aboute her; first, though she had a sufficiente maister, yet she was rudly mañed, and all her men were upon shars, and none was to have any wages but y^e m^r. 2^{ly}, wheras they mainly lookt at trade, they had sent nothing of any value to trade with. When the men came hear, and mette with ill counsell from M^r. Weston & his crue, with others of y^e same stampe, neither m^r nor Gov^r could scarce rule [108] them, for they exclaimed that they were abused & deceived, for they were tould they should goe for a man of warr, and take I know not whom, French & Spaniards, &c. They would neither trade nor fish, excepte they had wages; in fine, they would obey no comānd of y^e maisters; so as it was apprehended they would either rune away with y^e vessell, or get away wth y^e ships, and leave her; so as M^r. Peirce & others of their freinds perswaded the Gov^r to chaing their condition, and give them wages; which was accordingly done. And she was sente about y^e Cape to y^e Narigansets to trade, but they made but a poore vioage of it. Some corne and beaver they got, but y^e Dutch used to furnish them with cloath & better comodities, they haveing only a few beads & knives, which were not ther much esteemed. Allso, in her returne home, at y^e very entrance into ther owne harbore, she had like to have been cast away in a storme, and was forced to cut her maine mast by y^e bord, to save herselfe from driving on y^e flats that lye without, caled Browns Ilands,‡ the force of y^e wind being so great as

* The Little James. See p. 142.—Ed.

† With her flages, & streamers, pendents, & wasteloaths, &c.

‡ Which lie “about half a mile east by north from Beach Point.” Thach-

er's Plymouth, p. 331. On the 6th of October, 1635, “two shallops, going, laden with goods, to Connecticut, were taken in the night with an easterly storm, and cast away upon Brown's

made her anchors give way and she drive right upon them ; but her mast & takling being gone, they held her till y^e wind shifted.

Anno Dom: 1624.

THE time of new election of ther officers for this year being come, and y^e number of their people increased, and their troubls and occasions therwith, the Gov^r desired them to chainge y^e persons, as well as renew y^e election ; and also to adde more Assistans to y^e Gov^r for help & counsell, and y^e better carrying on of affairs. Showing that it was necessarie it should be so. If it was any honour or benefite, it was fitte others should be made pertakers of it ; if it was a burthen, (as doubtles it was,) it was but equall others should help to bear it ; and y^t this was y^e end of Añuall Elections. The issue was, that as before ther was but one Assistante, they now chose 5. giving the Gov^r a duple voyce ;* and aftwards they increased them to 7. which course hath continued to this day.

They having with some truble & charge new-masted and rigged their pinass, in y^e begining of March they sent her well vited to the eastward on fishing. She arived safly at a place near Damarins cove, and was there well harbored in a place wher ships used to ride, ther beìng also some ships allready arived out of England. But shortly after ther [109] arose such a violent & extraordinarie storme, as y^e seas broak over such places in y^e harbor as was never seene before, and drive her against great roks, which beat such a hole in her bulke, as a horse and carte might have gone in, and after drive her into deep-water, wher she lay sunke. The m^r. was drowned, the rest of y^e men, all save one, saved their lives, with much a doe ; all her provision, salt, and what

Island, near the Gurnett's Nose, and the men all drowned." Savage's Winthrop, I. 169. — Ed.

* Governor Bradford was not suffered to retire, but was re-elected. — Ed.

els was in her, was lost. And here I must leave her to lye till afterward.

Some of those that still remained hear on their perticuler, begane privatly to nurish a faction, and being privie to a strong faction that was among y^e adventurers in England, on whom sundry of them did depend, by their private whispering they drew some of the weaker sorte of y^e company to their side, and so filld them with discontente, as nothing would satisfie them excepte they might be suffered to be in their perticuler allso; and made great offers, so they might be freed from y^e generall. The Gov^r consulting with y^e ablest of y^e generall body what was best to be done hear in, it was resolved to permitte them so to doe, upon equall conditions. The conditions were the same in effect with y^e former before related. Only some more added, as that they should be bound here to remaine till y^e generall partnership was ended. And also that they should pay into y^e store, y^e on halfe of all such goods and comodities as they should any waise raise above their food, in consideration of what charg had been layed out for them, with some such like things. This liberty granted, soone stopt this gape, for ther was but a few that undertooke this course when it came too; and they were as sone weary of it. For the other had perswaded them, & M^r. Weston togeather, that ther would never come more supply to y^e generall body; but y^e perticulers had such freinds as would carry all, and doe for them I know not what.

Shortly after, M^r. Winslow came over,* and brought a

* Morton says, "in the month of March." According to this History, it appears that Winslow and Lyford came in the same ship which brought the first cattle; and this is called the *Charity*. In the Plymouth Records relative to the division of cattle, in 1627, it is stated that they were brought in the *Ann*. If both ships had arrived at this time, with passengers and supplies for the colony, it seems probable that Bradford would have

mentioned it; and we are therefore led to infer that an error exists either in the Colony Records, or in this History, as to the name of this ship. It will be observed that she is called the "*Charitie*" in Sherley's letter on the following page. It appears, further on, that the master of this ship was "one Baker," who proved "a drunken beast"; but Mr. William Peirce was to oversee the business and to be the master of the ship

pretty good supply, and the ship came on fishing, a thing fatall to this plantation. He brought 3. heifers & a bull, the first begining of any catle of that kind in y^e land, with some cloathing & other necessaries, as will further appear; but withall y^e reporte of a strong faction amongst the adventurers* against them, and espetially against y^e coming of y^e rest from Leyden, and with what difficulty this supply was procured, and how, by their strong & long opposision, bussines was so retarded as not only they were now false too late for y^e fishing season, but the best men were taken up of y^e fishermen in y^e west countrie, and he was forced to take such a m^r. & company for that imployment as he could procure upon y^e present. Some letters from them shall beter declare these things, being as followeth.

[110] Most worthy & loving freinds, your kind & loving leters I have received, and render you many thanks, &c. It hath plased God to stirre up y^e harts of our adventurers* to raise a new stock for y^e seting forth of this shipe, caled y^e Charitie, with men & necessaries, both for y^e plantation and y^e fishing, though accomplished with very great difficulty; in regard we have some amongst us which undoubtedly aime more at their owne private ends, and y^e thwarting & opposing of some hear, and other worthy instruments † of Gods glory elswher, then at y^e generall good and furtherance of this noble & laudable action. Yet againe we have many other, and I hope y^e greatest parte, very honest Christian men, which I am perswaded their ends and intents are wholly for y^e glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, in y^e propagation of his gospell, and hope of gaining those poore salvages to y^e knowledg of God. But, as we have a proverbe, One scabed sheep may marr a whole flock, so these malecontented persons, & turbulente spirits, doe what in them lyeth to withdraw mens harts from you and your freinds, yea, even from y^e generall bussines; and yet under show and pretence of godlynes and furtherance of y^e plantation. Wheras the quite contrary doth plainly appeare; as some of y^e honestest harted men (though of late of their faction) did make manifest at our late

home. See Davis's edition of the Memorial, p. 111, note, and Appendix, pp. 381 - 386. — Ed.

* *Adventures* in the manuscript. — Ed.

† He means Mr. Robinson.

meeting. But what should I trouble you or my selfe with these restles opposers of all goodnes, and I doubt will be continuall disturbers of our frendly meetings & love. On Thurs-day y^e 8. of Jan: we had a meeting aboute the artickls betweene you & us; wher they would rejecte that, which we in our late leters prest you to grante, (an addition to y^e time of our joynt stock). And their reason which they would make known to us was, it trobled their conscience to exacte longer time of you then was agreed upon at y^e first. But that night they were so followed and crost of their perverse courses, as they were even wearied, and offered to sell their adventurs; and some were willing to buy. But I, doubting they would raise more scandale and false reports, and so diverse waise doe us more hurt, by going of in such a furie, then they could or can by continuing adventurers amongst us, would not suffer them. But on y^e 12. of Jan: we had another meting, but in the interime diverse of us had talked with most of them privatly, and had great combats & reasoning, pro & con. But at night when we mete to read y^e generall letter, we had y^e loveingest and frendlyest meeting that ever I knew,* and our greatest enemise offered to lend us 50^{li}. So I sent for a potle of wine, (I would you could † doe y^e like,) which we dranke freindly together. Thus God can turne y^e harts of men when it pleaseth him, &c. Thus loving freinds, I hartily salute you all in y^e Lord, hoping ever to rest,

Yours to my power,

Jan: 25. 1623.†

JAMES SHERLEY.

[111] *Another leter.*

Beloved Sr., &c. We have now sent you, we hope, men & means, to settle these 3. things, viz. fishing, salt making, and boat making; if you can bring them to pass to some perfection, your wants may be supplied. I pray you bend you selfe what you can to settle these bussinesses. Let y^e ship be fraught away as soone as you can, and sent to Bilbow. You must send some

* But this lasted not long, they had now provided Lyford & others to send over.

† It is worthy to be observed, how y^e Lord doth chaing times & things; for what is now more plentiful then wine? and that of y^e best, coming from Malago, y^e Cannaries, and other places, sundry ships lading in a year. So as

ther is now more cause to complaine of y^e excess and y^e abuse of wine (through mens corruption) even to drunkennes, then of any defecte or wante of y^e same. Witnes this year 1646. The good Lord lay not y^e sins & unthankfullnes of men to their charge in this perticular.

‡ That is, 1624, new style. — Ed.

discreete man for factore, whom, once more, you must also authorise to confirme y^e conditions.* If Mr. Winslow could be spared, I could wish he came againe. This ship carpenter is thought to be the fittest man for you in the land, and will no doubt doe you much good. Let him have an absolute comand over his servants & such as you put to him. Let him build you 2. catches, a lighter, and some 6. or 7. shalops, as soone as you can. The salt-man is a skillfull & industrious man, put some to him, that may quickly apprehende y^e misterie of it. The preacher we have sent is (we hope) an honest plaine man, though none of y^e most eminent and rare. Aboute chusing him into office use your owne liberty & discretion; he knows he is no officer amongst you, though perhaps custome & universalitie may make him forget him selfe. Mr. Winslow & my selfe gave way to his going, to give contente to some hear, and we see no hurt in it, but only his great charge of children.

We have tooke a patente for Cap Anne, &c. I am sory ther is no more discretion used by some in their leters hither.† Some say you are starved in body & soule; others, y^t you eate piggs & doggs, that dye alone; others, that y^e things hear spoaken of, y^e goodnes of y^e cuntry, are gross and palpable lyes; that ther is scarce a foule to be seene, or a fish to be taken, and many such like. I would such discontented men were hear againe, for it is a miserie when y^e whole state of a plantation shall be thus exposed to y^e passionate humors of some discontented men. And for my selfe I shall hinder for hereafter some y^t would goe, and have not better composed their affections; mean space it is all our crosses, and we must bear them.

I am sorie we have not sent you more and other things, but in truth we have runne into so much charge, to victaile y^e ship, provide salte & other fishing implements, &c. as we could not provid other comfortable things, as buter, suger, &c. I hope the returne of this ship, and the James, will put us in cash againe. The Lord make you full of courage in this troublesome bussines, which now must be stuck unto, till God give us rest from our labours. Fare well in all harty affection.

Your assured freind,

Jan: 24. 1623.‡

R. C.

* See page 109. — Ed.

† This was John Oldome & his like.

‡ That is, 1624, new style. — Ed.

With y^e former letter write by M^r. Sherley, there were sente sundrie objections concerning which he thus writeth. "These are the cheefe objections which they [112] that are now returned make against you and the countrie. I pray you consider them, and answer them by the first conveniencie." These objections were made by some of those that came over on their perticuler and were returned home, as is before mentioned,* and were of y^e same suite with those y^t this other letter mentions.

I shall here set them downe, with y^e answers then made unto them, and sent over at y^e returne of this ship; which did so confound y^e objecters, as some confessed their falte, and others deneyed what they had said, and eate their words, & some others of them have since come over againe and heere lived to convince them selves sufficiently, both in their owne & other mens judgments.

1. obj. was diversitie aboute Religion. Ans: We know no such matter, for here was never any controversie or opposition, either publicke or private, (to our knowledg,) since we came.

2. ob: Neglecte of familie duties, one y^e Lords day.

Ans. We allow no such thing, but blame it in our selves & others; and they that thus reporte it, should have shewed their Christian love the more if they had in love tould y^e offenders of it, rather then thus to reproach them behind their baks. But (to say no more) we wish them selves had given better example.

3. ob: Wante of both the sacrements.

Ans. The more is our greefe, that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might injoye them; for we used to have the Lords Supper every Saboth, and baptisme as often as ther was occasion of children to baptise.

4. ob: Children not catechised nor taught to read.

Ans: Neither is true; for diverse take pains with their

* See page 151. — Ed.

owne as they can ; indeede, we have no com̄one schoole for want of a fitt person, or hithertoo means to maintaine one ; though we desire now to beginne.

5. ob : Many of y^e perticuler members of y^e plantation will not work for y^e generall.

Ans : This allso is not wholly true ; for though some doe it not willingly, & other not honestly, yet all doe it ; and he that doth worst gets his owne foode & something besids. But we will not excuse them, but labour to reforme them y^e best we cane, or else to quitte y^e plantation of them.

6. ob : The water is not wholsome.

Ans : If they mean, not so wholsome as y^e good beere and wine in London, (which they so dearly love,) we will not dispute with them ; but els, for water, it is as good as any in y^e world, (for ought we knowe,) and it is wholsome enough to us that can be contente therewith.

7. ob : The ground is barren and doth bear no grasse.

[113] Ans : It is hear (as in all places) some better & some worse ; and if they well consider their words, in England they shall not find such grasse in them, as in their feelds & meadows. The catle find grasse, for they are as fatt as need be ; we wish we had but one for every hundred that hear is grasse to keep. Indeed, this objection, as some other, are ridiculous to all here which see and know y^e contrary.

8. ob : The fish will not take salt to keepe sweete.

Ans : This is as true as that which was written, that ther is scarce a foule to be seene or a fish to be taken. Things likly to be true in a cuntrie wher so many sayle of ships come yearly a fishing ; they might as well say, there can no aile or beere in London be kept from sowering.

9. ob : Many of them are theevish and steale on from an other.

Ans : Would London had been free from that crime, then we should not have been troubled with these here ;

it is well knowne sundrie have smarted well for it, and so are y^e rest like to doe, if they be taken.

10. ob: The cuntrie is anoyed with foxes and woules.

Ans: So are many other good cuntries too; but poyson, traps, and other such means will help to destroy them.

11. ob: The Dutch are planted nere Hudsons Bay, and are likely to overthrow the trade.

Ans: They will come and plante in these parts, also, if we and others doe not, but goe home and leave it to them. We rather commend them, then condemne them for it.

12. ob: The people are much anoyed with muskeetoos.

Ans: They are too delicate and unfitte to begine new-plantations and collonies, that cannot enduer the biting of a muskeeto; we would wish such to keepe at home till at least they be muskeeto prooffe. Yet this place is as free as any, and experience teacheth that y^e more y^e land is tild, and y^e woods cut downe, the fewer ther will be, and in the end scarce any at all.

Having thus dispatcht these things, that I may handle things togeather, I shall here inserte 2. other letters from M^r. Robinson their pastor; the one to y^e Gov^r, y^e other to M^r. Brewster their Elder, which will give much light to y^e former things, and express the tender love & care of a true pastor over them.

His leter to y^e Gov^r.

My loving & much beloved freind, whom God hath hithertoo preserved, preserve and keepe you still to his glorie, and y^e good of many; that his blessing may make your godly and wise endeavours answerable to y^e valuation which they ther have, & set upon y^e same. Of your love too and care for us here, we never doubted; so are we glad to take knowledg of it in that fullnes we doe. Our love & care to and for you, is mutuall, though our hopes of coming [114] unto you be small, and weaker then ever. But of this at large in M^r. Brewsters letter, with whom you, and he with you, mutuall, I know, communicate your letters, as I desire you may doe these, &c.

Concerning y^e killing of those poor Indeans,* of which we heard at first by reporte, and since by more certaine relation, oh! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any; besides, wher bloud is onc begune to be shed, it is seldome stanchd of a long time after. You will say they deserved it. I grant it; but upon what provocations and invitmets by those heathenish Christians? † Besjds, you, being no magistrats over them, were to consider, not what they deserved, but what you were by necessitie constrained to inflite. Necessitie of this, espetially of killing so many, (and many more, it seems, they would, if they could,) I see not. Methinks on or tow principals should have been full enough, according to that approved rule, The punishmente to a few, and y^e fear to many. Upon this occasion let me be bould to exhorte you seriously to consider of y^e dispossession of your Captaine, ‡ whom

* At Wessagusset, in March, 1622-3, briefly alluded to on page 132, and of which there is a full account by Winslow, in Young, pp. 326-346. It appears that the lives of seven Indians were taken in that encounter. The sentiments of Mr. Robinson in relation to this transaction are highly honorable to him. The few brief extracts from this letter which were preserved by Prince, have always commended themselves to the humane reader. "They indicate," remarks Judge Davis, "a generous philanthropy, which must always gain our affection, and should ever be cherished. Still, the transactions to which they relate are defensible. As to Standish, Dr. Belknap places his defence on the rules of duty imposed by his character as the military servant of the colony. The government, it is presumed, will be considered as acting under severe necessity, and will require no apology, if the reality of the conspiracy be admitted, of which there can be little doubt. It is certain they were fully persuaded of its existence; and with the terrible example of the Virginia massacre in fresh remembrance, they had solemn duties to discharge. The existence of the whole settlement was at hazard." See Davis's edition of the Memorial, p. 91; Belknap, II. 330. — Ed.

† Mr. Westons men.

‡ Standish was born in Lancashire, went over into the Low Countries when

young, and was a soldier there, and there became acquainted with the church at Leyden. He was a man of small stature, but of unquestioned courage and resolution. His wife, Rose, who came with him in the Mayflower, died on the 29th of January, 1620-1. His second wife was named Barbara. He removed to Duxbury about the year 1630, and there died in 1656. From a manuscript note of Prince, taken from Deputy-Governor William Bradford's Table-Book, it appears that Standish died on the 3d of October. In his will, which is dated March 7, 1655, (probably 1656, new style,) he enumerates four sons then living, and also his "dearly beloved wife Barbara." Among his bequests are three pounds to "Marcye Robenson, whom I tenderly love for her grandfather's sake." She was a daughter of Isaac Robinson. He also gives to his "son and heir apparent, Alexander Standish," certain lands "given to me as right heir by lawful descent, but surreptitiously detained from me; my great-grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish." See Morton's Memorial, p. 143; Hubbard, p. 111; Young, pp. 125, 126; Russell's Guide to Plymouth, p. 243; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, pp. 262, 263, note; New England Hist. and Geneal. Register, V. 335, 336, 464; Prince's Introduction to Mason's Pequot War, p. iii. — Ed.

I love, and am perswaded y^e Lord in great mercie and for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you, and towards all in ordinarie course. But now if this be meerly from an humane spirite, ther is cause to fear that by occasion, espetially of provocation, ther may be wanting y^t tendernes of y^e life of man (made after Gods image) which is meete. It is also a thing more glorious in mens eyes, then pleasing in Gods, or conveniente for Christians, to be a terrour to poore barbarous people; and indeed I am afraid least, by these occasions, others should be drawne to affecte a kind of ruffling course in the world. I doubt not but you will take in good part these things which I write, and as ther is cause make use of them. It were to us more comfortable and convenient, that we comunicated our mutuall helps in presence, but seeing that cannot be done, we shall always long after you, and love you, and waite Gods apoynted time. The adventurers it seems have neither money nor any great mind of us, for y^e most parte. They deney it to be any part of y^e covenants betwixte us, that they should trāsporte us, neither doe I looke for any further help from them, till means come from you. We hear are strangers in effecte to y^e whole course, and so both we and you (save as your owne wisdoms and worths have intressed you further) of principals intended in this bussines, are scarce accessaries, &c. My wife, with me, resaluts you & yours. Unto him who is y^e same to his in all places, and nere to them which are farr from one an other, I comend you and all with you, resting,

Yours truly loving,

JOHN ROBINSON.*

Leyden, Des: 19. 1623.

His to M^r. Brewster.

Loving and dear freind and brother: That which I most desired of God in regard of you, namely, y^e continuance of your life and health, and the safe coming of these sent unto you, that I most gladly hear of, and praise God for the same. And I

* An earlier letter of Robinson to the church at Plymouth, received after their arrival here, is preserved in Bradford's Letter-Book, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll.,

III. 45. It is written from Leyden, June 30, 1621, after tidings received from the colonists by the Mayflower, and probably came in the Fortune. — Ed.

hope Mrs. Brewsters weake and decayed state of body will have some reparing by the coming of her daughters,* and the provissions in this and former ships, I hear is made for you; which maks us with more patience bear our languishing state, and y^e deferring of our desired trāsportation; w^{ch} I call desired, rather than hoped for, whatsoever you are borne in hand by any others. For first, ther is no hope at all, that I know, or can conceive of, of any new stock to be raised for that end; so that all must depend [115] upon returns from you, in which are so many uncertainties, as that nothing with any certaintie can thence be concluded. Besids, howsoever for y^e presente the adventurers aledg nothing but want of money, which is an invincible difculty, yet if that be taken away by you, others without doubte will be found. For the beter clearing of this, we must dispose y^e adventurers into 3. parts; and of them some 5. or 6. (as I conceive) are absolutly bent for us, above any others. Other 5. or 6. are our bitter professed adversaries. The rest, being the body, I conceive to be honestly minded, & loveingly also towards us; yet such as have others (namly y^e forward preachers) nerer unto them, then us, and whose course so farr as ther is any differance, they would rather advance then ours. Now what a hanck † these men have over y^e professors, you know. And I perswade my selfe, that for me, they of all others are unwilling I should be transported, espetially such of them as have an eye that way them selves; as thinking if I come ther, ther market will be mard in many regards. And for these adversaries, if they have but halfe y^e witte to their malice, they will stope my course when they see it intended, for which this delaying serveith them very opportunly. And as one restie jade can hinder, by hanging back, more then two or 3. can (or will at least, if they be not very free) draw forward, so will it be in this case. A notable ‡ experimete of this, they gave in your messengers presence, constraining y^e company to promise that none of the money now gathered should be expended or imployed to y^e help of any of us towards you. Now touching y^e question propounded by you, I judg it not lawfull for you, being a ruling Elder, as Rom. 12. 7. 8. & 1. Tim. 5. 17. opposed to the Elders that teach & exhorte and labore in y^e word and doctrine, to which y^e sacre-

* Fear and Patience, who came in the Anne, in 1623. — Ed.

† Hank, influence. — Ed.

‡ *Notabe* in MS. — Ed.

ments are annexed, to administer them, nor convenient if it were lawfull. Whether any larned man will come unto you or not, I know not; if any doe, you must *Consiliū capere in arena*. Be you most hartily saluted, & your wife with you, both from me & mine. Your God & ours, and y^e God of all his, bring us together if it be his will, & keep us in the mean while, and all-ways to his glory, and make us servisable to his majestic, and faithfull to the end. Amen.

Your very loving brother,

Leyden, Des: 20. 1623.

JOHN ROBINSON.*

These things premised, I shall now prosecute y^e proceedings and affairs here. And before I come to other things I must speak a word of their planting this year; they having found y^e benifite of their last years harvest, and setting corne for their particuler, having therby with a great deale of patience overcome hunger & famine. Which makes me remember a saing of Senecas, *Epis: 123. That a great parte of libertie is a well governed belly, and to be patiente in all wants*. They begane now highly to prise corne as more pretious then silver, and those that had some to spare begane to trade one with another for smale things, by y^e quarte, pottle, & peck, &c.; for money they had none, and if any had, corne was preferred before it. That they might therefore encrease their tillage to better advantage, they made suite [116] to the Gov^r to have some portion of land given them for continuance, and not by yearly lotte, for by that means, that which y^e more industrious had brought into good culture (by much pains) one year, came to leave it y^e nexte, and often another might enjoye it; so as the dressing of their lands were the more sleighted over, & to lese profite. Which being well considered, their request was granted. And to every person was given only one acre of land, to them & theirs, as here y^e towne as might be, and they had no more till y^e 7.

* This letter, with the omission of into the Plymouth Church Records. a few lines, was copied by Morton — Ed.

years were expired.* The reason was, that they might be kept close together both for more saftie and defence, and y^e better improvement of y^e generall imployments. Which condition of theirs did make me often thinke, of what I had read in Plinie † of y^e Romans first beginings in Romulus time. *How every man contented him selfe with 2. Acres of land, and had no more assigned them. And chap. 3. It was thought a great reward, to receive at y^e hands of y^e people of Rome a pinte of corne. And long after, the greatest presente given to a Captaine y^e had gotte a victory over their enemies, was as much ground as they could till in one day. And he was not counted a good, but a dangerous man, that would not contente him selfe with 7. Acres of land. As also how they did pound their corne in morters, as these people were forcte to doe many years before they could get a mille.*

The ship which brought this supply, was speedily discharged, and with her m^r. & company sente to Cap-Anne (of which place they had gott a patente,‡ as before is

* The record of the allotment of lands made at this time may be seen in Hazard, I. 101-103, and in the Appendix to Davis's edition of the Memorial, pp. 377-380. — Ed.

† Plin: lib: 18. chap. 2.

‡ This patent was taken out in the names of Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow, for themselves and their associates. It was granted by Edmond Lord Sheffield, a member of the Council for New England, and is dated January 1st, 1623-4. The original parchment has been discovered within a few years, and has been published in a superior manner, in *fac-simile*, entitled "The Landing at Cape Anne," edited by Mr. J. W. Thornton. The location and boundaries of this patent are somewhat vague, perhaps necessarily so, and its terms conditional. If Sheffield's right to make this grant depended upon any claim which he had or expected to have to this territory, from the division of the country among the patentees holding under the great Plymouth char-

ter, it would seem to be invalid, inasmuch as that division was never confirmed by the crown. It appears, however, that Sheffield had been interested in lands somewhere in New England, individually, by purchase. This patent, like those to Robert Gorges and to John Peirce, from the Council, contemplated the erection of a government upon the place; but a grant of this nature obviously rested upon no authority, while the royal sanction was wanting. Bradford is silent as to any plans which the Plymouth people had formed respecting Cape Ann, simply relating the fact that they had established a fishery there, and employed a person to trade there in skins. This spot, we infer, was early abandoned by them, as fishing was "a thing fatal" to the Plymouth plantation. Besides, a difficulty which occurred there the following year, and which will be recited in its place, led Governor Bradford to write to the Council for New England, under date of June 28, 1625, that the adventurers who had

shewed) on fishing, and because y^e season was so farr spent some of y^e planters were sent to help to build their stage, to their owne hinderance. But partly by y^e latenes of y^e year, and more espetially by y^e basnes of y^e m^r., one Baker, they made a poore viage of it. He proved a very drunken beast, and did nothing (in a maner) but drink, & gusle, and consume away y^e time & his victails; and most of his company followed his example; and though M^r. William Peirce was to over see the busines, & to be m^r. of y^e ship home, yet he could doe no good amongst them, so as y^e loss was great, and would have bene more to them, but that they kept one a trading ther, which in those times got some store of skins, which was some help unto them.

forsaken them had "entered into a particular course of trading, and have, by violence and force, taken at their pleasure our possession at Cape Ann." We learn nothing further from Bradford respecting this patent, and will cite the brief and only allusion to it by Hubbard, who remarks, that "the Company of New Plymouth had obtained a *useless* patent of Cape Ann about the year 1623." Christopher Levitt and John Smith, contemporary writers, both speak of the new settlement begun at this place by the people of Plymouth.

The Dorchester fishing Company, with which the Reverend John White of that place was connected, commenced a settlement at Cape Ann, probably in the autumn of 1623, which is thus alluded to by Captain Smith, at the end of his *Generall Historie*, first published in 1624: "At Cape Anne there is a plantation beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of New Plymouth, who also by them have set up a fishing work." According to Hubbard, about the year 1625, Roger Conant, John Lyford, and John Oldham, who had left the Plymouth colony, and were then residing at Nantasket, were invited by the Company in England to join that settlement; the first named to be its overseer or "governor." Conant and Lyford accepted, and there remained until the settlement broke up in

the course of the next year, when they, with a few others, removed to Naumkeag. Bradford makes no reference to the Dorchester settlement at Cape Ann.

In the work above alluded to, (*Landing at Cape Anne*,) Mr. Thornton gives a history of the Dorchester settlement at that place, and not only is of opinion that that is the true commencement of the Massachusetts colony, but he aims also to connect its history with this Sheffield patent, in the same manner as the history of Massachusetts is identified with the charter which brought that government into existence; and to show that Conant was Governor under this instrument, precisely as was Winthrop under the charter of that colony. This Sheffield grant, it will be remembered, was to Cushman and Winslow and their associates; and although it appears from Smith that the Dorchester people at Cape Ann in some way held of those of Plymouth, yet there is no evidence that the settlements of the two companies there were in any sense identical; neither does it appear that the Dorchester Company was ever in possession of this patent, or that its government was based upon its provisions. See Thornton's *Landing at Cape Anne*, pp. 16, 31-33, 69-71; Hubbard, pp. 102, 106, 110, 231; Hazard, I. 391; 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 38; Planter's Plea, pp. 68-75; Felt's *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 74.—Ed.

The ship-carpenter that was sent them, was an honest and very industrious man, and followed his labour very dilligently, and made all that were imployed with him doe y^e like; he quickly builte them 2. very good & strong shalops (which after did them greate service), and a great and strong lighter, and had hewne timber for 2. catches; but that was lost, for he fell into a feaver in y^e hote season of y^e year, and though he had the best means y^e place could aforde, yet he dyed; of whom they had a very [117] great loss, and were very sorie for his death. But he whom they sent to make salte was an ignorante, foolish, selfwilld fellow; he bore them in hand he could doe great matters in making salt-works, so he was sente to seeke out fitte ground for his purpose; and after some serch he tould y^e Gov^r that he had found a sufficente place, with a good botome to hold water, and otherwise very conveniente, which he doubted not but in a short time to bring to good perfection, and to yeeld them great profite; but he must have 8. or ten men to be constantly imployed. He was wisht to be sure that y^e ground was good, and other things answerable, and y^t he could bring it to perfection; otherwise he would bring upon them a great charge by imploying him selfe and so many men. But he was, after some triall, so confidente, as he caused them to send carpenters to rear a great frame for a large liouse, to receive y^e salte & such other uses. But in y^e end all proved vaine. Then he layed fault of y^e ground, in which he was deceived; but if he might have the lighter to cary clay, he was sure then he could doe it. Now though y^e Gov^r & some other foresaw that this would come to litle, yet they had so many malignant spirits amongst them, that would have laid it upon them, in their letters of complainte to y^e adventurers, as to be their fault y^t would not suffer him to goe on to bring his work to perfection; for as he by his bould confidence & large promises deceived them in England that sente him, so he had

wound him selfe in to these mens high esteeme hear, so as they were faine to let him goe on till all men saw his vanity. For he could not doe any thing but boyle salt in pans, & yet would make them y^t were joynd with him beleeeve ther was so grat a misterie in it as was not easie to be attained, and made them doe many unnecessary things to blind their eys, till they discerned his sutltie. The next yere he was sente to Cap-Anne, and y^e pans were set up ther wher the fishing was; but before somer was out, he bu^rte the house, and the fire was so vehemente as it spoyld the pans, at least some of them, and this was the end of that chargable bussines.

The 3^d. eminent person (which y^e letters before mention) was y^e minister which they sent over, by name John Lyford, of whom & whose doing I must be more large, though I shall abridg things as much as I can. When this man first came a shore, he saluted them with that reverence & humilitie as is seldome to be seen, and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands if they would have [118] suffered him;* yea, he wept & shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring y^e things they had done in their wants, &c. as if he had been made all of love, and y^e humblest person in y^e world. And all y^e while (if we may judg by his after cariags) he was but like him mentioned in Psa: 10. 10. That croucheth & boweth, that heaps of poore may fall by his might. Or like to that dissembling Ishmaell,† who, when he had slaine Gedelia, went out weeping and mette them y^t were coming to offer incence in y^e house of y^e Lord; saing, Come to Gedelia, when he ment to slay them. They gave him y^e best entertainment y^e could, (in all simplisitie,) and a larger alowans of food out of y^e store then any other had, and as the Gov^r had used in all waightie

* Of wch were many witnesses.

† Jer. 41. 6.

affairs to consulte with their Elder, Mr. Brewster, (together with his assistants,) so now he called Mr. Liford also to counsell with them in their waightiest bussineses. Ater some short time he desired to joyne himselfe a member to y^e church hear, and was accordingly received. He made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgement of his former disorderly walking, and his being intangled with many corruptions, which had been a burthen to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunitie of freedom & libertie to injoye y^e ordinances of God in puritie among his people, with many more such like expressions. I must hear speake a word also of Mr. John Oldom,* who was a copartner with him in his after courses. He had bene a cheefe sticler in y^e former faction among y^e perticulers, and an intelligencer to those in England. But now, since the coming of this ship and he saw y^e supply that came, he tooke occasion to open his minde to some of y^e cheefe amongst them heere, and confessed he had done them wrong both by word & deed, & writing into England; but he now saw the eminent hand of God to be with them, and his blesing upon them, which made his hart smite him, neither should those in England ever use him as an instrumente any longer against them in any thing. He also desired former things might be forgotten, and that they would looke upon him as one that desired to close with them in all things, with such like expressions. Now whether this was in hipocrisie, or out of some sudden pange of conviction (which I rather thinke), God only knows. Upon it they shew all readynes to imbrace his love, and carry towards him in all frendlynnes, and called him to counsell with them in all cheefe affairs, as y^e other without any distrust at all.

Thus all things seemed to goe very comfortably and smothly on amongst them, at which they did much re-

* Oldham came in the Anne, and was one of those who "were on their perticuler." — Ed.

joyce; but this lasted not [119] long, for both Oldom and he grew very perverse, and shewed a spirite of great malignancie, drawing as many into faction as they could; were they never so vile or profane, they did nourish & back them in all their doings; so they would but cleave to them and speak against y^e church hear; so as ther was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them; they feeding themselves & others with what they should bring to pass in England by the faction of their freinds their, which brought others as well as them selves into a fools paradise. Yet they could not cary so closely but much of both their doings & sayings were discovered, yet outwardly they still set a faire face of things.

At lenght when y^e ship was ready to goe, it was observed Liford was long in writing, & sente many letters, and could not forbear to communicate to his intimats such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done ther errand sufficiently. The Gov^r and some other of his freinds knowing how things stood in England, and what hurt these things might doe, tooke a shalop and wente out with the ship a league or 2. to sea, and caled for all Lifords & Oldums letters. M^r. William Peirce being m^r. of y^e ship, (and knew well their evill dealing both in England & here,) afforded him all y^e assistance he could. He found above 20. of Lyfords letters, many of them larg, and full of slanders, & false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but to their ruine & utter subversion. Most of the letters they let pas, only tooke copys of them, but some of y^e most materiall they sent true copyes of them, and kept y^e originalls, least he should deney them, and that they might produce his owne hand against him. Amongst his letters they found y^e copyes of tow letters which he sent inclosed in a leter of his to M^r. John Pemberton, a minster, and a great opposite of theirs. These 2. letters of which he tooke the copyes were one of them write by a gentle-man in England to

M^r. Brewster here, the other by M^r. Winslow to M^r. Robinson, in Holand, at his coming away, as y^e ship lay at Graysend. They lying sealed in y^e great cabin, (whilst M^r. Winslow was bussie aboute the affairs of y^e ship,) this slye marchante* tak^s & opens them, tak^s these coppys, & seals them up againe; and not only sends the coppyes of them thus to his friend and their adversarie, but adds thertoo in y^e margente many scurrilous and flouting añotations. This ship went out *towards eëing*, and *in the night* y^e Gov^r retured. They were somwaht blanke at it, but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, they then were as briske as ever, thinking nothing had been knowne, but all was gone currente, and that the Gov^r went but to dispatch his owne letters. The reason why the Gov^r & rest concealed these things the longer, was to let things ripen, that they [120] might y^e better discover their intents and see who were their adherents. And y^e rather because amongst y^e rest they found a letter of one of their confederats, in w^{ch} was writen that M^r. Oldame & M^r. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commone wealth; and, as soone as the ship was gone, they intended to joyne togeather, and have the sacrements, &c.

For Oldame, few of his leters were found, (for he was so bad a scribe as his hand was scarce legible,) yet he was as deepe in y^e mischeefe as the other. And thinking they were now strong enough, they begane to pick quarells at every thing. Oldame being called to watch (according to order) refused to come, fell out with y^e Capten, cald him raskell, and beggerly raskell, and resisted him, drew his knife at him; though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him no ille termes, but with all fairnes required him to doe his duty. The Gov^r, hearing y^e tumulte, sent to quiet it, but he ramped more like a furious beast then a man, and cald them all treatours, and rebels, and other

* Merchant. — This was sometimes equivalent to *chap* or *fellow*. See Halliwell's Dictionary. — Ed.

such foule language as I am ashamed to remember; but after he was clapt up a while, he came to him selfe, and with some slight punishmente was let goe upon his behaviour for further censure.

But to cutt things shorte, at length it grew to this esseue, that Lyford with his complices, without ever speaking one word either to y^e Gov^r, Church, or Elder, withdrewe them selves & set up a publick meeting aparte, on y^e Lord's day; with sundry such insolente cariages, too long here to relate, begining now publikly to acte what privatly they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time (to prevent further mischeefe) to calle them to accounte; so y^e Gov^r called a courte and summoned the whol company to appeare. And then charged Lyford & Oldom with such things as they were guilty of. But they were stiffe, & stood resolutly upon y^e deneyall of most things, and required prooffe. They first alledged what was write to them out of England, compared with their doings & pactises hear; that it was evident they joyned in plotting against them, and disturbing their peace, both in respecte of their civill & church state, which was most injurious; for both they and all y^e world knew they came hither to injoye y^e libertie of their conscience and y^e free use of Gods ordinances; and for y^e end had ventured their lives and passed throwgh so much hardshipe hithertoo, and they and their freinds had borne the charg of these beginings, which was not small. And that Lyford for his parte was sent over on this charge, and that both he and his great family* was maintained on y^e same, and also was joyned to y^e church, & a member of them; and for him to plote against them & seek their ruine, was most unjust & perfidious. And for [121] Oldam or any other that came over at their owne charge, and were on ther perticuler, seeing they

* When he left Plymouth he had a "wife and children, four or five." New English Canaan, p. 120. — Ed.

were received in curtesie by the plantation, when they came only to seeke shelter & protection under their wings, not being able to stand alone, that they, (according to y^e fable,) like the Hedghogg whom y^e conny in a stormy day in pittie received into her borrow, would not be content to take part with her, but in the end with her sharp pricks forst the poore conny to forsake her owne borrow; so these men with the like injustice indeavored to doe y^e same to thos that entertained them.

Lyford denyed that he had any thing to doe with them in England, or knew of their courses, and made other things as strange that he was charged with. Then his letters were prodused & some of them read, at which he was struck mute. But Oldam begane to rage furiously, because they had intercepted and opened his letters, threatening them in very high language, and in a most audacious and mutinous maner stood up & caled upon y^e people, saying, My maisters, wher is your harts? now shew your courage, you have oft complained to me so & so; now is y^e time, if you will doe any thing, I will stand by you, &c. Thinking y^t every one (knowing his humor) that had soothed and flattered him, or other wise in their discontente uttered any thing unto him, would now side wth him in open rebellion. But he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, but all were silent, being strucken with the injustice of y^e thing. Then y^e Gov^r turned his speech to M^r. Lyford, and asked him if he thought they had done evill to open his letters; but he was silent, & would not say a word, well knowing what they might reply. Then y^e Gov^r shewed the people he did it as a magistrate, and was bound to it by his place, to prevent y^e mischeefe & ruine that this conspiracie and plots of theirs would bring on this poor colony. But he, besides his evill dealing hear, had delte trecherusly with his freinds y^t trusted him, & stole their letters & opened them, and sent coppies of them, with disgracefull aⁿotations, to his

freinds in England. And then y^e Gov^r produced them and his other letters under his owne hand, (which he could not deny,) and caused them to be read before all y^e people; at which all his freinds were blanke, and had not a word to say.

It would be too long & tedious here to inserte his letters (which would almost fill a volume), though I have them by me. I shall only note a few of y^e cheefe things collected out of them, with y^e answers to them as they were then given; and but a few of those many, only for instance, by which the rest may be judged of.

[121 *] 1. First, he saith, the church would have none to live hear but them selves. 2^y. Neither are any willing so to doe if they had company to live els-wher.

Ans: Their answer was, that this was false, in both y^e parts of it; for they were willing & desirous y^t any honest men may live with them, that will cary them selves peacably, and seek y^e comone good, or at least doe them no hurte. And againe, ther are many that will not live els wher so long as they may live with them.

2. That if ther come over any honest men that are not of y^e seperation, they will quickly distast them, &c.

A. Ther answer was as before, that it was a false calumniation, for they had many amongst them that they liked well of, and were glad of their company; and should be of any such like that should come amongst them.

3. That they excepted against him for these 2. doctrins raised from 2. Sam: 12. 7. First, that ministers must sume times perticularly apply their doctrine to spetiall persons: 2^y, that great men may be reprov'd as well as meaner.

A. Their answer was, that both these were without either truth or colour of y^e same (as was proved to his face), and that they had taught and beleev'd these things long before they knew M^r. Liford.

* 121 is repeated in the paging of the original. — Ed.

4. That they utterly sought y^e ruine of y^e perticulers; as appeareth by this, that they would not suffer any of y^e generall either to buy or sell with them, or to exchaing one comoditie for another.

Ans: This was a most malicious slander and voyd of all truth, as was evidently proved to him before all men; for any of them did both buy, sell, or exchaing with them as often as they had any occation. Yea, and allso both lend & give to them when they wanted; and this the perticuler persons them selves could not deney, but freely confest in open court. But y^e ground from whence this arose made it much worse, for he was in counsell with them. When one was called before them, and questioned for receiving powder and bisket from y^e guñer of y^e small ship, which was y^e companys, and had it put in at his window in the night, and allso for buying salt of one, that had no right to it, he not only stood to back him (being one of these perticulers) by excusing & extenuating his falte, as long as he could, but upon this builds this mischeeous & most false slander: That because they would not suffer them to buy stolne goods, ergo, they sought their utter ruine. Bad logick for a devine.

5. Next he writs, that he chocked them with this; that they turned [122] men into their perticuler, and then sought to starve them, and deprive them of all means of subsistance.

A. To this was answered, he did them manifest wrong, for they turned none into their perticuler; it was their owne importunitie and earnest desire that moved them, yea, constrained them to doe it. And they apealed to y^e persons them selves for y^e truth hereof. And they testified the same against him before all present, as allso that they had no cause to complaine of any either hard or unkind usage.

6. He accuseth them with unjust distribution, and writeth, that it was a strang difference, that some have

bene allowed 16th. of meale by y^e weeke, and others but 4th. And then (floutingly) saith, it seems some mens mouths and bellies are very litle & slender over others.

Ans: This might seeme strange indeed to those to whom he write his leters in England, which knew not y^e reason of it; but to him and others hear, it could not be strange, who knew how things stood. For the first comers had none at all, but lived on their corne. Those w^{ch} came in y^e Anne, y^e August before, & were to live 13. months of the provissions they brought, had as good allowance in meal & pease as it would extend too, y^e most part of y^e year; but a litle before harvest, when they had not only fish, but other fruits began to come in, they had but 4th. of meall a week, lived better then y^e other, as was well knowne to all. And yet it must be remembered that Lyford & his had allwais the highest allowance.

Many other things (in his letters) he accused them of, with many aggravations; as that he saw exceeding great wast of tools & vesseles; & this, when it came to be examined, all y^e instance he could give was, that he had seen an old hogshed or too fallen to peeces, and a broken how or tow lefte carlesly in y^e feilds by some. Though he also knew that a godly, honest man was appointed to looke to these things. But these things & such like was write of by him, to cast disgrace & prejudice upon them; as thinking what came from a [123] minister would pass for currente. Then he tells them that Winslow should say, that ther was not above 7. of y^e adventurers y^t sougth y^e good of y^e collony. That M^r. Oldam & him selfe had had much to doe with them, and that y^e faction here might match y^e Jesuits for politie. With many y^e like greevious complaints & accusations.

1. Then, in the next place, he comes to give his freinds counsell and directtion. And first, that y^e Leyden company (M^r. Robinson & y^e rest) must still be kepte back, or els all will be spoyled. And least any of them should

be taken in privatly somewher on y^e coast of England, (as it was feared might be done,) they must chaing the m^r. of y^e ship (M^r. William Peirce), and put another allso in Winslows stead, for marchante, or els it would not be prevented.

2. Then he would have such a number provided as might oversway them hear. And that y^e perticulers should have voyces in all courts & elections, and be free to bear any office. And that every perticuler should come over as an adventurer, if he be but a servante; some other venturing 10^{li}., y^e bill may be taken out in y^e servants name, and then assigned to y^e party whose money it was, and good covenants drawn betweene them for y^e clearing of y^e matter; and this (saith he) would be a means to strengthen this side y^e more.

3. Then he tells them that if that Capten they spoake of should come over hither as a generall,* he was perswaded he would be chosen Capten; for this Captaine Standish looks like a silly boy, and is in utter contempte.

4. Then he shows that if by y^e formentioned means they cannot be strengthened to cary & over-bear things, it will be best for them to plant els wher by them selves; and would have it artickled by them that they might make choyse of any place that they liked best within 3. or 4. myls distance, shewing ther were farr better places for plantation then this.

5. And lastly he concluds, that if some number came not over to bear them up here, then ther would be no abiding for them, but by joyning with these hear. Then he adds: Since I begane to write, ther are letters come from your company, wherin they would give sole authoritie in diverce things unto the Gov^r here; which, if it take place, then, *Væ nobis*. But I hope you will be more vigilante hereafter, that nothing may pass in such a maⁿer.

* That is, on "the general," — as one of the company? — Ed.

I suppose (saith he) M^r. Oldame will write to you further of these things. I pray you conceall me in the discovery of these things, &c.

Thus I have breefly touched some cheefe things in his leters, and shall now returne to their proceeding with him. After the reading of his leters before the whole company, he was demanded what he could say to these things. [124] But all y^e answer he made was, that Billington and some others had informed him of many things, and made sundrie complaints, which they now denyed. He was againe asked if that was a sufficiente ground for him thus to accuse & traduse them by his letters, and never say word to them, considering the many bonds betweene them. And so they went on from poynte to poynte; and wisht him, or any of his freinds & confederats, not to spare them in any thing; if he or they had any prooffe or witnes of any corrupte or evill dealing of theirs, his or their evidence must needs be ther presente, for ther was the whole company and sundery strangers. He said he had been abused by others in their informations, (as he now well saw,) and so had abused them. And this was all the answer they could have, for none would take his parte in any thing; but Billington, & any whom he named, denyed the things, and protested he wronged them, and would have drawne them to such & such things which they could not consente too, though they were sometimes drawne to his meetings. Then they delte with him aboute his dissembling with them aboute y^e church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he made at his admittance, and that he held not him selfe a minister till he had a new calling, &c. And yet now he contested against them, and drew a company aparte, & sequestred him selfe; and would goe minister the sacrements (by his Episcopall caling) without ever speaking a word unto them, either as magistrats or bretheren. In conclusion, he was fully con-

victed, and burst out into tears, and “confest he feared he was a reprobate, his sinns were so great that he doubted God would not pardon them, he was unsavorie salte, &c.; and that he had so wronged them as he could never make them amends, confessing all he had write against them was false & nought, both for matter & mañer.” And all this he did with as much fullnes as words & tears could express.

After their triall & conviction, the court censured them to be expeld the place; Oldame presently, though his wife & family had liberty to stay all winter, or longer, till he could make provission to remove them comfortably. Lyford had liberty to stay 6. months. It was, indeede, with some eye to his release, if he caried him selfe well in the meane time, and that his repentance proved sound. Lyford acknowledged his censure was farr less then he deserved.

Afterwards, he confest his sin publikly in y^e church, with tears more largely then before. I shall here put it downe as I find it recorded by some who tooke it from his owne words, as him selfe utered them. Acknowledging [125] “That he had don very evill, and slanderously abused them; and thinking most of y^e people would take parte with him, he thought to cary all by violence and strong hand against them. And that God might justly lay innoçente blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come of these his writings, and blest God they were stayed. And that he spared not to take knowledg from any, of any evill that was spoaken, but shut his eyes & ears against all the good; and if God should make him a vacabund in y^e earth, as was Caine, it was but just, for he had sined in envie & malice against his brethren as he did. And he confessed 3. things to be y^e ground & causes of these his doings: pride, vaine glorie, & selfe love.” Amplifying these heads with many other sade expressions, in the perticulers of them.

So as they begane againe to conceive good thoughts of

him upon this his repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; and Samuell Fuller (a deacon amongst them), and some other tender harted men amongst them, were so taken with his signes of sorrow & repentance, as they professed they would fall upon their knees to have his censure released.

But that which made them all stand amased in the end, and may doe all others that shall come to hear y^e same, (for a rarer president can scarce be showne,) was, that after a month or 2. notwithstanding all his former confessions, convictions, and publick acknowledgments, both in y^e face of y^e church and whole company, with so many tears & sadde censures of him selfe before God & men, he should goe againe to justifie what he had done.

For secretly he write a 2^d. leter to y^e adventurers in England, in w^{ch} he justified all his former writings, (save in some things which tended to their damage,) the which, because it is brefer then y^e former, I shall here inserte.

Worthy S^{rs}: Though the filth of mine owne doings may justly be cast in my face, and with blushing cause my perpetuall silence, yet that y^e truth may not herby be injured, your selves any longer deluded, nor injurious * dealing caried out still, with bould out facings, I have adventured once more to write unto you. Firest, I doe freely confess I delte very indiscreetly in some of my perticuler leters w^{ch} I wrote to private freinds, for y^e courses in coming hither & the like; which I doe in no sorte seeke to justifie, though stired up ther unto in the beholding y^e indirecte courses held by others, both hear, & ther with you, for effecting their designes. But am hartily sorry for it, and doe to y^e glory of God & mine owne shame acknowledg it. Which leters being intercepted by the Gov^r, I have for y^e same undergone y^e censure [126] of banishmente. And had it not been for y^e respecte I have unto you, and some other matters of private regard, I had returned againe at this time by y^e pinass for England; for hear I purpose not to abide, unless I receive better encourag-

* *Inurious* in MS. — ED.

mente from you, then from y^e church (as they call them selves) here I doe receive. I purposed before I came, to undergoe hardnes, therefore I shall I hope cherfully bear y^e conditions of y^e place, though very mean; and they have chainged my wages ten times allready. I suppose my letters, or at least y^e coppies of them, are come to your hands, for so they hear reporte; which, if it be so, I pray you take notice of this, that I have written nothing but what is certainly true, and I could make so apeare planly to any indifferente men, whatsoever colours be cast to darken y^e truth, and some ther are very audacious this way; besides many other matters which are farre out of order hear. My mind was not to enlarge my selfe any further, but in respecte of diverse poore souls here, y^e care of whom in parte belongs to you, being here destitute of the meãs of salvation. For how so ever y^e church are provided for, to their contente, who are y^e smalest number in y^e collony, and doe so appropriate y^e ministrie to them selves, houlding this principle, that y^e Lord hath not appointed any ordinary ministrie for y^e conversion of those y^t are without, so y^t some of y^e poor souls have wth tears complained of this to me, and I was taxed for preaching to all in generall. Though in truth they have had no ministrie here since they came, but such as may be performed by any of you, by their owne possition, what soever great pretences they make; but herin they equivocate, as in many other things they doe. But I excede y^e bounds I set my selfe, therefore resting thus, untill I hear further from you, so it be within y^e time limited me. I rest, &c.,

Remaining yours ever,

JOHN LYFORD, Exille.

Dated Aug: 22. An^o: 1624.

They made a breefe answer to some things in this leter, but referred cheefly to their former. The effecte was to this purpose: That if God in his providence had not brought these things to their hands (both y^e former & later), they might have been thus abused, tradused, and calumniated, overthrowne, & undone; and never have knowne by whom, nor for what. They desired but this equali favoure, that they would be pleased to hear their

just defence, as well as his accusations, and waigh them in y^e balance of justice & reason, and then censure as they pleased. They had write breefly to y^e heads of things before, and should be ready to give further [127] answer as any occasion should require; craving leave to adde a word or tow to this last.

1. And first, they desired to examene what filth that was y^t he acknowledgeth might justly be throwne in his face, and might cause blushing & perpetuall silence; some great mater sure! But if it be looked into, it amounts to no more then a poynte of indiscretion, and thats all; and yet he licks of y^t too with this excuse, that he was stired up therunto by beholding y^e indirecte course here. But this point never troubled him here, it was counted a light matter both by him & his freinds, and put of with this,—that any man might doe so, to advise his private freinds to come over for their best advantage. All his sorrow & tears here was for y^e wrong & hurt he had done us, and not at all for this he pretends to be done to you: it was not counted so much as indiscretion.

2. Having thus payed you full satisfaction, he thinks he may lay load of us here. And first complains that we have changed his wages ten times. We never agreed with him for any wages, nor made any bargin at all with him, neither know of any that you have made. You sent him over to teach amongst us, and desired he might be kindly used; and more then this we know not. That he hath beene kindly used, (and farr beter then he deserves from us,) he shall be judged first of his owne mouth. If you please to looke upon that writing of his, that was sent you amongst his leters, which he cals a generall relation, in which, though he doth otherwise traduse us, yet in this he him selfe clears us. In y^e latter end therof he hath these words. *I speak not this (saith he) out of any ill affection to the men, for I have found them very kind & loving to me.* You may ther see these to be his owne

words under his owne hand. 2^{ly}. It will appere by this that he hath ever had a larger allowance of food out of y^e store for him and his then any, and clothing as his neede hath required; a dwelling in one of our best houses, and a man wholly at his owne comānd to tend his private affairs. What cause he hath therfore to complaine, judge ye; and what he means in his speech we know not, except he aluds to y^e of Jaacob & Laban. If you have promised him more or other wise, you may doe it when you please.

3. Then with an impudent face he would have you take notice, that (in his leters) he hath write nothing but what is certainly true, yea, and he could make it so appeare plainly to any indifferente men. This indeed doth astonish us and causeth us to tremble at y^e deceitfullnes [128] and desperate wickednes of mans harte. This is to devoure holy things, and after voues to enquire. It is admirable that after such publick confession, and acknowledgmente in court, in church, before God, & men, with such sadd expressions as he used, and with such melting into teares, that after all this he shoud now justifie all againe. If things had bene done in a corner, it had been some thinge to deney them; but being done in y^e open view of y^e cuntrie & before all men, it is more then strange now to avow to make them plainly appear to any indifferente men; and here wher things were done, and all y^e evidence that could be were presente, and yet could make nothing appear, but even his freinds condemnd him & gave their voyce to his censure, so grosse were they; we leave your selves to judge herein. Yet least this man should triumph in his wikednes, we shall be ready to answer him, when, or wher you will, to any thing he shall lay to our charg, though we have done it sufficiently allready.

4. Then he saith he would not inlarge, but for some poore souls here who are destiute of y^e means of salvation, &c. But all his soothing is but that you would use

means, that his censure might be released that he might here continue; and under you (at least) be sheltered, till he sees what his freinds (on whom he depends) can bring about & effecte. For such men pretend much for poor souls, but they will looke to their wages & conditions; if that be not to their content, let poor souls doe what they will, they will shift for them selves, and seek poore souls some wher els among richer bodys.

Next he fals upon y^e church, that indeed is y^e burthen-some stone that troubles him. First, he saith they hold this principle, that the Lord hath not apointed any ordinarie ministrie for y^e converssion of those without. The church needs not be ashamed of what she houlds in this, haveing Gods word for her warrente; that ordinarie officers are bound cheefly to their flocks, Acts 20. 28. and are not to be extravagants, to goe, come, and leave them at their pleasures to shift for them selves, or to be devoured of wolves. But he perverts y^e truth in this as in other things, for y^e Lord hath as well appoynted them to convert, as to feede in their severall charges; and he wrongs y^e church to say other wise. Againe, he saith he was taxed for preaching to all in generall. This is a meere untruth, for this dissembler knows that every Lords day some are appointed to visite suspected places, & if any be found idling and neglecte y^e hearing of y^e word, (through idlnes or profanes,) they are punished for y^e same. Now to procure all to come to hear, and then to blame him for preaching to all, were to play y^e mad men.

[129] 6. Next (he saith) they have had no ministrie since they came, what soever pretences they make, &c. We answer, the more is our wrong, that our pastor is kept from us by these mens means, and then reproach us for it when they have done. Yet have we not been wholly destitute of y^e means of salvation, as this man would make y^e world beleieve; for our reve^d Elder hath laboured diligently in dispensing the word of God unto us, before he

came; and since hath taken equalle pains with him selfe in preaching the same; and, be it spoaken without ostentation, he is not inferriour to M^r. Lyford (& some of his betters) either in gifts or lerning, though he would never be perswaded to take higher office upon him. Nor ever was more pretended in this matter. For equivocating, he may take it to him selfe; what y^e church houlds, they have manifested to y^e world, in all plaines, both in open confession, doctrine, & writing.

This was y^e sume of ther answer, and hear I will let them rest for y^e presente. I have bene longer in these things then I desired, and yet not so long as the things might require, for I pass many things in silence, and many more deserve to have been more largely handled. But I will returne to other things, and leave y^e rest to its place.

The pinass that was left sunck & cast away near Damarins-cove, as is before showed,* some of y^e fishing maisters said it was pity so fine a vessell should be lost, and sent them word that, if they would be at y^e cost, they would both directe them how to waygh her, and let them have their carpenters to mend her. They thanked them, & sente men aboute it, and beaver to defray y^e charge, (without which all had been in vaine). So they gott coopers to trime, I know not how many tune of cask, and being made tight and fastened to her at low-water, they boyed her up; and then hired sundrie carpenters to work upon her, and other to saw planks, and at last fitted her & got her home. But she cost a great deale of money, in thus recovering her, and buying riging & seails for her, both now and when before she lost her mast; so as she proved a chargable vessell to y^e poor plantation. So they sent her home,† and with her Lyford sent his last letter,

* See pages 155, 156. — Ed.

† The pinnace probably sailed about the 22d of August, the date of Lyford's

letter, and Prince (I. 150) conjectures that Mr. Winslow went in her. — Ed.

in great secrecie; but y^e party intrusted with it gave it y^e Gov^r.

The winter was passed over in ther ordinarie affairs, without any spetiall mater worth noteing; saveing that many who before stood something of from y^e church, now seeing Lyfords unrighteous dealing, and malignitie against y^e church, now tendered them selves to y^e church, and were joyned to y^e same; proffessing that it was not out of y^e dislike of any thing that they had stood of so long, but a desire to fitte them selves beter for such a state, and they saw now y^e Lord cald for their help. [130] And so these troubls prodused a quite contrary effecte in sundrie hear, then these adversaries hoped for. Which was looked at as a great worke of God, to draw on men by unlickly means; and that in reason which might rather have set them further of. And thus I shall end this year.*

Anno Dom: 1625.

At y^e spring of y^e year, about y^e time of their Election Court, Oldam came againe amongst them; and though it was a part of his censure for his former mutinye and mis-cariage, not to returne without leave first obtained, yet in his dareing spirite, he presumed without any leave at all, being also set on & hardened by y^e ill counsell of others. And not only so, but suffered his unruly passion to rune

* Captain Smith, under date of 1624, on the last leaf of his Generall Historie, first published this year, thus writes: "At New-Plymouth there is about 180 persons, some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry, thirty-two dwelling houses," &c. "The place it seems is healthful, for in these last three years, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, there hath not one died of the first planters." He says the general stock already employed by the adventurers is about seven thousand pounds.

It appears from Prince that on the 17th of June of this year there was "born at Plymouth to Governor Bradford, his son William, who afterwards becomes Deputy-Governor of the colony." Annals, I. 147.

"August 5th. The ninth marriage at New Plymouth is of Mr. Thomas Prince with Mrs. Patience Brewster." Ibid., I. 150. Morton records, in his Memorial, the death of his father, George Morton, which took place in the month of June of this year. — Ed.

beyond y^e limits of all reason and modestie; in so much that some strangers which came with him were ashamed of his outrage, and rebuked him; but all reprofes were but as oyle to y^e fire, and made y^e flame of his coller greater. He caled them all to nought, in this his mad furie, and a hundred rebells & traytors, and I know not what. But in conclusion they comited him till he was tamer, and then apointed a gard of musketers w^{ch} he was to pass throw, and ever one was ordered to give him a thump on y^e brich, with y^e but end of his musket, and then was conveied to y^e water side, wher a boat was ready to cary him away. Then they bid him goe & mende his maners.

Whilst this was a doing, M^r. William Peirce and M^r. Winslow came up from y^e water side, being come from England; but they were so busie with Oldam, as they never saw them till they came thus upon them. They bid them not spare either him or Liford, for they had played y^e vilans with them. But that I may hear make an end with him, I shall hear once for all relate what befell concerning him in y^e future, & y^e breefly. After y^e removall of his familie from hence, he fell into some straits, (as some others did,) and aboute a year or more afterwards, towards winter, he intended a vioage for Virginia; but it so pleased God that y^e barke that caried him, and many other passengers, was in that danger, as they dispaired of life; so as many of them, as they fell to prayer, so also did they beginc to examine their consciences [131] and confess such sins as did most burthen them. And M^r. Ouldame did make a free and large confession of y^e wrongs and hurt he had done to y^e people and church here, in many perticulers, that as he had sought their ruine, so God had now mette with him and might destroy him; yea, he feared they all fared y^e worce for his sake; he prayed God to forgive him, and made vowes that, if y^e Lord spard his life, he would become otherwise, and y^e like. This I had from some of good credite, yet living in y^e Bay,

and were them selves partners in the same dangers on y^e shoulds of Cap-Codd, and heard it from his owne mouth. It pleased God to spare their lives, though they lost their viage; and in time after wards, Ouldham caried him selfe fairly towards them, and acknowledged y^e hand of God to be with them, and seemed to have an honourable respecte of them; and so farr made his peace with them, as he in after time had libertie to goe and come, and converse with them, at his pleasure. He went after this to Virginia, and had ther a great sicknes, but recovered and came back againe to his familie in y^e Bay, and ther lived till some store of people came over. At lenght going a trading in a smale vessell among y^e Indians, and being weakly mand, upon some quarell they knockt him on y^e head with a hatched, so as he fell downe dead, & never spake word more. 2. litle boys that were his kinsmen were saved, but had some hurte, and y^e vessell was strangly recovered from y^e Indeans by another that belonged to y^e Bay of Massachusetz; and this his death was one ground of the Pequente warr which followed.*

* Oldham came over in the Anne, in 1623. In the allotment of lands in the spring of 1624, ten acres were assigned to him "and those joyned with him." On leaving Plymouth he repaired to Nantasket, where a habitation appears to have been early erected to accommodate the trade with the Indians, and where he resided for a time in company with Lyford and others, who also retired thither with their families. He may have intended to return to England after his second expulsion from Plymouth, as Governor Bradford, in a letter to Cushman, dated June 9 of this year, and sent over by Standish, writes: "We have rid ourselves of the company of many of those who have been so troublesome unto us, though I fear we are not yet rid of the troubles themselves. I hear Ouldham comes himself into England, the which if he do, beware of him, for he is very malicious, and much threatens you." As stated in the text, he subsequently became reconciled to the people of Plymouth, and they so far confided in him

as to commit to his charge that "troublesome planter, Mr. Thomas Morton," when he was sent prisoner to England in the summer of 1628. He probably did not return to New England till 1630. Besides an interest which he claimed in lands in Massachusetts under the patent of Robert Gorges, he and Richard Vines secured a grant from the Council of a tract of land in Maine, on the Saco River, which is nearly described by the boundaries of the present town of Biddeford, and which bears date February 12, 1629-30. He was admitted a freeman of the Massachusetts Colony in May, 1631, and became a resident of Watertown, where he is found as early as 1632. His death occurred in July, 1636. See Hazard, I. 103; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, pp. 117, 118, note, and Appendix, p. 379; 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 36, 62, 63; Folsom's Hist. of Saco and Biddeford, pp. 26, 317-319; Records of Mass. Colony, I. 95, 366; Savage's Winthrop, I. 189. — Ed.

I am now come to M^r. Lyford. His time being now expired, his censure was to take place. He was so farre from answering their hopes by amendmente in y^e time, as he had dubled his evill, as is before noted. But first behold y^e hand of God conceiring him, wherin that of y^e Psalmist is verified. Psa: 7. 15. He hath made a pitte, & digged it, and is fallen into the pitte he made. He thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but in stead thereof opens his owne to all y^e world. For when he was delte with all aboute his second letter, his wife was so affected with his doings, as she could no longer conceaill her greefe and sorrow of minde, but opens y^e same to one of their deacons & some other of her freinds, & after uttered y^e same to M^r. Peirce upon his arrivall. Which was to this purpose, that she feared some great judgment of God would fall upon them, and upon her, for her husbands cause; now that they were to remove, she feared to fall into y^e Indeans hands, and to be defiled by them, as he had defiled other women; or some shuch like [132] judgmente, as God had threatened David, 2. Sam. 12. 11. I will raise up evill against y^e, and will take thy wives & give them, &c. And upon it showed how he had wronged her, as first he had a bastard by another before they were married, & she having some inkling of some ill cariage that way, when he was a suitor to her, she tould him what she heard, & deneyd him; but she not certainly knowing y^e thing, other wise then by some darke & secrete muterings, he not only stifly denied it, but to satisfie her tooke a solemne oath ther was no shuch matter. Upon which she gave consente, and married with him; but afterwards it was found true, and y^e bastard brought home to them. She then charged him with his oath, but he prayed pardon, and said he should els not have had her. And yet afterwards she could keep no maids but he would be meddling with them, and some time she hath taken him in y^e maner, as they lay at their beds feete, with shuch other

circumstances as I am ashamed to relate. The woman being a grave matron, & of good cariage all y^e while she was hear, and spoake these things out of y^e sorrow of her harte, sparingly, and yet wth some further intimations. And that which did most seeme to affecte her (as they conceived) was, to see his former cariage in his repentance, not only hear with y^e church, but formerly about these things; sheding tears, and using great & sade expressions, and yet eftsome fall into the like things.

Another thing of y^e same nature did strangely concurr herewith. When M^r. Winslow & M^r. Peirce were come over, M^r. Winslow informed them that they had had y^e like bickering with Lyfords freinds in England, as they here had with him selfe and his freinds hear, aboute his letters & accusations in them. And many meetings and much clamour was made by his freinds therabout, crying out, a minister, a man so godly, to be so esteemed & taxed they held a great skandale, and threatred to prosecute law against them for it. But things being referred to a further meeting of most of y^e adventurers, to heare y^e case and decide y^e matters, they agreed to chose 2. eminent men for moderators in the bussines. Lyfords faction chose M^r. White, a counselor at law, the other parte chose Revē^d. M^r. Hooker, y^e minister, and many freinds on both sides were brought in, so as ther was a great assemblie. In y^e mean time, God in his providence had detected Lyford's evill cariage in Ireland to some freinds amongst y^e company, who made it knowne to M^r. Winslow, and directed him to 2. godly and grave witnesses, who would testifie y^e same (if caled therunto) upon their oath. The thing was this; he being gott into Ireland, had wound him selfe into y^e esteeme of sundry godly & zelous professours in those parts, who, having been burthened with y^e ceremonies in England, found ther some more liberty to their consciences; amongst whom were these 2. men, which gave [133] this evidence. Amongst y^e rest of his hearers,

ther was a godly yonge man that intended to marie, and cast his affection on a maide which lived their aboute; but desiring to chose in y^e Lord, and preferred y^e fear of God before all other things, before he suffered his affection to rune too farr, he resolved to take M^r. Lyfords advise and judgmente of this maide, (being y^e minister of y^e place,) and so broak y^e matter unto him; & he promised faithfully to informe him, but would first take better knowledg of her, and have private conferance with her; and so had sundry times; and in conclusion comended her highly to y^e yong man as a very fitte wife for him. So they were married togeather; but some time after marriage the woman was much troubled in mind, and afflicted in conscience, and did nothing but weepe and mourne, and long it was before her husband could get of her what was y^e cause. But at length she discovered y^e thing, and prayed him to forgive her, for Lyford had overcome her, and defiled her body before marriage, after he had comended him unto her for a husband, and she resolved to have him, when he came to her in that private way. The circumstances I forbear, for they would offend chast ears to hear them related, (for though he satisfied his lust on her, yet he indeaoured to hinder conception.) These things being thus discovered, y^e womā's husband tooke some godly freinds with him, to deale with Liford for this evill. At length he confest it, with a great deale of seeming sorrow & repentance, but was foret to leave Irland upon it, partly for shame, and partly for fear of further punishmente, for y^e godly withdrew them selves from him upon it; and so coming into England unhapily he was light upon & sente hither.

But in this great assembly, and before y^e moderators, in handling y^e former matters aboute y^e letters, upon provocation, in some heate of replie to some of Lyfords defenders, M^r. Winslow let fall these words, That he had delte knavishly; upon which on of his freinds tooke hold, &

caled for witneses, that he cald a minister of y^e gospell knave, and would prosecute law upon it, which made a great tumulte, upon which (to be shorte) this matter broke out, and the witnes were prodused, whose persons were so grave, and evidence so plaine, and y^e facte so foule, yet delivered in such modest & chast terms, and with such circumstances, as stricke all his freinds mute, and made them all ashamed; insomuch as y^e moderators with great gravitie declared that y^e former matters gave them cause enough to refuse him & to deal with him as they had done, but these made him unmeete for ever to bear ministrie any more, what repentance soever he should pretend; with much more to like effecte, and so wisht his freinds to rest quiete. Thus was this matter ended.

From hence Lyford wente to Natasco, in y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts, with some other of his freinds with him,* wher Oldom allso lived. From thence he removed to Nantabek, since called Salem; but after ther came some people over, wheather for hope of greater profite, or what ends els

* Among these friends of Lyford was probably Roger Conant, who sympathized with him in his religious views, but whose name Bradford does not mention in this History; for what is known of him at this early period we are indebted wholly to Hubbard, who is supposed to have derived his information from Conant himself. It is uncertain when he arrived in New England. In a petition which he addressed to the General Court, in May, 1671, (being then nearly eighty years of age,) he states that he has "been a planter in New England forty-eight years and upward." This would date his arrival before 1623. If he had been a resident at Plymouth at so early a period, it would seem that his name would be found among those who had lands allotted to them in the spring of 1621. He may have been one of the ten joined to Oldham, whose names do not appear; or he may have come over the next year with Lyford. Concerning the residence of these persons at Nantasket, whither

they went after leaving Plymouth, Hubbard remarks: "There Mr. Roger Conant, with some few others, after Mr. Lyford and Mr. Oldham were (for some offence, real or supposed) discharged from having anything more to do at Plymouth, found a place of retirement and reception for themselves and families, for the space of a year and some few months, till a door was opened for them at Cape Anne, . . . whither they removed about the year 1625." If the residence of Lyford and Conant at Nantasket corresponded to the time indicated above,—"a year and some few months,"—and if we may suppose that they retired thither at the same time, it would seem to point to a later period than is stated by Hubbard for their removal to Cape Ann. Oldham may have resided at Nantasket from the time of his first expulsion from Plymouth, the year before. See Hubbard, pp. 102, 106, 107; New England Hist. and Geneal. Register, II. 333-335.—Ed.

I know not, he left his freinds that followed him, and went from thence to Virginia, wher he shortly after dyed, and so I leave him to y^e Lord. His wife afterwards returned againe to this cuntry, and thus much of this matter.*

[134] This storme being thus blowne over, yet sundrie sad effects followed y^e same; for the Company of Adventurers broake in peeces here upon,† and y^e greatest parte wholly deserted y^e colony in regarde of any further supply, or care of their subsistance. And not only so, but some of Lyfords & Oldoms freinds, and their adherents, set out a shipe on fishing, on their owne accounte, and getting y^e starte of y^e ships that came to the plantation, they tooke away their stage, & other necessary provisions that they had made for fishing at Cap-Anne y^e year before, at their great charge, and would not restore y^e same, excepte they would fight for it. But y^e Gov^r sent some of y^e planters to help y^e fisher men to build a new one, and so let them keepe it.‡ This shipe also brought them some small sup-

* The account here given of Lyford and Oldham is copied by Morton in an abridged form into the Plymouth Church Records; for, besides copying into these Records that portion of this History alluded to on page 80, and which was printed by Dr. Young in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, Morton continued to make extracts from this work as he proceeded in his Church History, sometimes taking whole letters. — Ed.

† That is, upon the developments made in England concerning Lyford, just narrated, an account of which was brought over by Mr. Winslow and Captain Peirce. — Ed.

‡ Hubbard gives a minute account of this affair at Cape Ann, which he may have received from Conant, who appears to have been present at the time; not, however, as a resident, for Lyford and his friends at this period had but recently left Plymouth. The person who had command of this ship, and who seized upon this fishing-stage, was one Mr. Hewes. Captain Standish was there present, and "very eagerly and peremptorily demanded" the stage.

"The dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed between them, which might have ended in blows, if not in blood and slaughter, had not the prudence and moderation of Mr. Roger Conant, at that time there present, and Mr. Peirce's interposition, that lay just by with his ship, timely prevented. For Mr. Hewes had barricaded his company with hogsheads on the stage-head, while the demandants stood upon the land, and might easily have been cut off; but the ship's crew, by advice promising to help them build another, the difference was thereby ended." Hubbard, pp. 110, 111.

Bradford, in a letter to the Council for New England, under date of June 28th of this year, complains of the course which the adventurers had pursued towards them. "They have not only cast us off, but entered into a particular course of trading, and have by violence and force taken at their pleasure our possession at Cape Ann." His wish is to be "free from them." See Bradford's Letter-Book, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 37, 38. — Ed.

ply, of little value ; but they made so pore a bussines of their fishing, (neither could these men make them any returne for y^e supply sente,) so as, after this year, they never looked more after them.

Also by this ship, they, some of them, sent (in y^e name of y^e rest) certaine reasons of their breaking of from y^e plantation, and some tenders, upon certaine conditions, of reuniting againe. The which because they are longe & tedious, and most of them aboute the former things already touched, I shall omite them ; only giving an instance in one, or tow. 1. reason, they charged them for dissembling with his majestie in their petition, and with y^e adventurers about y^e French discipline,* &c. 2^d, for receiving† a man‡ into their church, that in his confession renounced all, universall, nationall, and diocessan churches, &c., by which (say they) it appears, that though they deny the name of Brownists, yet they practiss y^e same, &c. And therefore they should sīne against God in building up such a people.

Then they adde : Our dislikes thus laīd downe, that we may goe on in trade wth better contente & credite, our desires are as followeth. First, that as we are partners in trade, so we may be in Gov^{nt} ther, as the patente doth give us power, &c.

2. That the French discipline may be practised in the plantation, as well in the circumstances theirow, as in y^e substance ; wherby y^e scandallous name of y^e Brownists, and other church differences, may be taken away.

3. Lastly, that M^r. Robinson and his company may not goe over to our plantation, unless he and they will reconcile themselves to our church by a recantation under their hands, &c.

Their answer in part to these things was then as foloweth.

Wheras you taxe us for dissembling with his majestie &

* See pp. 34, 35. — Ed.

† Receive in the manuscript. — Ed.

‡ This was Lyford himselfe.

y^e adventurers aboute y^e French discipline, you doe us wrong, for we both hold & practice y^e discipline of y^e French & other reformed churches, (as they have published y^e same in y^e Harmony of Confessions,*) according to our means, in effecte & substance. But wheras you would tye us to the French discipline in every circumstance, you derogate from y^e libertie we have in Christ Jesus. The Apostle Paule would have none to follow him in any thing but wherin he follows Christ, much less ought any Christian or church in y^e world to doe it. The French may erre, we may erre, and other churches may erre, and doubtless doe in many circumstances. That honour therfore belongs only to y^e infallible word of God, and pure Testamente of Christ, to be propounded and followed as y^e only rule and pattern for direction herin to all churches & Christians. And it is too great arrogancie for any man, or church [135] to thinke y^t he or they have so sounded y^e word of God to y^e bottome, as precislie to sett downe y^e churches discipline, without error in substance or circumstance, as y^t no other without blame may digress or differ in any thing from y^e same. And it is not difficulte to shew, y^t the reformed churches differ in many circumstances amongst them selves.

The rest I omitte, for brevities sake, and so leave to prosecute these men or their doings any further, but shall returne to y^e rest of their freinds of y^e company, w^{ch} stuck to them. And I shall first inserte some part of their letters as followeth; for I thinke it best to render their minds in ther owne words.

To our loving freinds, &c.†

Though the thing we feared be come upon us, and y^e evill we strove against have overtaken us, yet we cannot forgett you, nor our freindship and fellowship which togeather we have had

* "An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, with verie shorte Notes, translated out of Latine into English," 1586. Another edition, 1643. — Ep.

† This letter is here considerably abridged from the copy preserved in Bradford's Letter-Book, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 29-34. Immediately preceding it there, is the following note of

Bradford. "Now follows the first letters we received after the breach; for Mr. Thornell and the rest never replied nor writ more unto us, being partly ashamed of what they had done and written." It is addressed, "To our beloved friends, Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Isaac Allerton, Mr. William Brewster, and the rest of the general society of Plymouth in New England; salutations." — Ep.

some years ; wherein though our expressions have been small, yet our hartie affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less then to our nearest freinds, yea, to our owne selves. And though this your freind Mr. Winslow can tell you y^e state of things hear, yet least we should seeme to neglecte you, to whom, by a wonderfull providence of God, we are so nearly united, we have thought good once more to write unto you, to let you know what is here befallen, and y^e reasons of it ; as also our purposes & desires toward you for hereafter.

The former course for the generalitie here is wholly dissolved from what it was ; and wheras you & we were formerly sharers and partners, in all viages & deallings, this way is now no more, but you and we are left to bethinke our sellves what course to take in y^e future, that your lives & our monies be not lost.

The reasons and causes of this allteration have been these. First and mainly, y^e many losses and crosses at sea, and abuses of sea-men, w^{ch} have caused us to runc into so much charge, debts, & ingagements, as our estats & means were not able to goe on without impoverishing our selves, except our estats had been greater, and our associats cloven beter unto us. 2^{ly}, as here hath been a faction and siding amongst us now more then 2. years, so now there is an utter breach and sequestration amongst us, and in too parts of us a full dissertion and forsaking of you, without any intente or purpose of meddling more with you. And though we are perswaded the maine cause of this their doing is wante of money, (for neede wherof men use to make many excuses,) yet other things are pretended, as that you are Brownists, &c. Now what use you or we ought to make of these things, it remaineth to be considered, for we know y^e hand of God to be in all these things, and no doubt he would admonish some thing therby, and to looke what is amise. And although it be now too late for us or you to prevent & stay these things, yet it is not too late to exercise patience, wisdom, and conscience in bearing them, and in caring our selves in & under them for y^e time to come.

[136] And as we our selves stand ready to imbrace all occasions that may tend to y^e furthrance of so hopefull a work, rather admiring of what is, then grudging for what is not ; so it must rest in you to make all good againe. And if in nothing else you can be approved, yet let your honestie & conscience be

still approved, & lose not one jote of your innocencie, amidst your crosses & afflictions. And surly if you upon this allteration behave your selves wisly, and goe on fairly, as men whose hope is not in this life, you shall need no other weapon to wound your adversaries; for when your righteousness is revealed as y^e light, they shall cover their faces with shame, that causlesly have sought your overthrow.

Now we thinke it but reason, that all such things as ther apertaine to the generall, be kept & preserved together, and rather increased dayly, then any way be dispersed or imbeveled away for any private ends or intents whatsoever. And after your necessities are served, you gather together such comodities as y^e cuntrie yeelds, & send them over to pay debts & clear ingagements hear, which are not less then 1400^{li}. And we hope you will doe your best to free our ingagements, &c. Let us all indeavor to keep a faire & honest course, and see what time will bring forth, and how God in his providence will worke for us. We still are perswaded you are y^e people that must make a plantation in those remoate places when all others faile and returne. And your experience of Gods providence and preservation of you is such as we hope your harts will not faile you, though your freinds should forsake you (which we our selves shall not doe whilst we live, so long as your honestie so well appereth). Yet surly help would arise from some other place whilst you waite on God, with uprightness, though we should leave you allso.

And lastly be you all intreated to walke circumspectly, and carry your selves so uprightly in all your ways, as y^t no man may make just exceptions against you. And more espetially that y^e favour and countenance of God may be so toward you, as y^t you may find abundante joye & peace even amidst tribulations, that you may say with David, Though my father & mother should forsake me, yet y^e Lord would take me up.

We have sent you hear some catle, cloath, hose, shoes, leather, &c., but in another nature then formerly, as it stood us in hand to doe; we have comitted them to y^e charge & custody of Mr. Allerton and Mr. Winslow, as our factours, at whose discretion they are to be sould, and comodities to be taken for them, as is fitting. And by how much y^e more they will be chargable unto you, the better * they had need to be husbanded, &c. Goe on,

good freinds, comfortably, pluck up your spirits, and quitte your selves like men in all your difficulties, that notwithstanding all displeasure and threats of men, yet y^e work may goe on you are aboute, and not be neglected. Which is so much for y^e glorie of God, and the furthrance of our countrie-men, as that a man may with more comforte [137] spend his life in it, then live y^e life of Mathusala, in wasting y^e plentie of a tilled land, or eating y^e fruite of a growne tree. Thus with harty salutations to you all, and harty prayers for you all, we lovingly take our leaves, this 18. of Des: 1624.

Your assured freinds to our powers,

J. S. W. C. T. F. R. H. &c.*

By this leter it appears in what state y^e affairs of y^e plantation stood at this time. These goods they bought, but they were at deare rates, for they put 40. in y^e hundred upon them, for profite and adventure, outward bound; and because of y^e v̄nture of y^e paiment homeward, they would have 30.† in y^e 100. more, which was in all 70. p^r. cent; a thing thought unreasonable by some, and too great an oppression upon y^e poore people, as their case stood. The catle were y^e best goods, for y^e other being ventured ware, were neither at y^e best (some of them) nor at y^e best prises. Sundrie of their freinds disliked these high rates, but coming from many hands, they could not help it.

They sent over also 2. ships on fishing on their owne acounte; the one was y^e pinass that was cast away y^e last

* "James Sherley (sick), William Collier, Thomas Fletcher, Robert Holland. This letter was wrote with Mr. Cushman's hand; and it is likely was penned by him at the others' request." Bradford's Letter-Book, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 31.

Governor Bradford received a letter from Mr. Cushman at the same time, dated December 22d, in which he speaks of Mr. Sherley as lying at the point of death, and of the loss which the colony will sustain "if God should take him now away. . . . He hath sent you a cheese, &c.; also he hath sent an heifer

to the plantation to begin a stock for the poor." Cushman concludes by entreating the Governor "to have a care of my son as of your own"; alluding here to his son Thomas, who came over with him in the Fortune, and was left behind in the colony, being then fourteen years of age. He also expresses the hope to come to them by the next ships. See further under the year 1626; Bradford's Letter-Book; Cushman Genealogy, p. 89. — Ed.

† If I mistake not, it was not much less. [30th in the manuscript. — Ed.]

year hear in y^e cuntrie, and recovered by y^e planters, (as was before related,) who, after she came home, was attached by one of y^e company for his perticuler debte, and now sent againe on this accounte.* The other was a great ship, who was well fitted with an experienced m^r. & company of fisher-men, to make a viage, & to goe to Bilbo or Sabastians with her fish; the lesser, her order was to load with cor-fish, and to bring the beaver home for England. y^t should be received for y^e goods sould to y^e plantation. This bigger ship made a great viage of good drie fish, the which, if they had gone to a market wth, would have yeelded them (as such fish was sould y^t season) 1800^{li}. which would have enriched them. But because ther was a bruite of warr with France, y^e m^r. neglected (through timorousnes) his order, and put first into Plimoth, & after into Portsmouth, and so lost their opportunitie, and came by the loss. The lesser ship had as ill success, though she was as hopfull as y^e other for y^e marchants profite; for they had fild her with goodly cor-fish taken upon y^e banke, as full as she could swime; and besides she had some 800^{li}. weaight of beaver, besides other furs to a good value from y^e plantation. The m^r. seeing so much goods come, put it aboard y^e biger ship, for more saftie; but M^r. Winslow (their factor in this busines) was bound in a bond of 500^{li}. to send it to London in y^e smale ship; ther was some contending between y^e m^r. & him aboute it. But he tould y^e m^r. he would follow his order aboute it: if he would take it out afterward, it should be at his perill. So it went in y^e smale ship, and he sent bills of lading in both. The m^r. was so carfull being both so well laden, as they went joyfully home togeather, for he towed y^e leser

* The Little James, it appears, was sent over at this time by Thomas Fletcher, one of the adventurers, who sustained a great loss by her. In Bradford's Letter-Book is a letter from him, dated November 25, 1625, in which he speaks

of his misfortunes. Bradford says, "She and the beaver in her, which was sent for the goods we bought the other year, being for the most part his, and was taken by the Turks, to his utter undoing." — Ed.

ship at his sterne all y^e way over bound, and they had such fayr weather as he never cast her of till they were shott deep in to y^e English Chanell, almost within y^e sight of Plimoth; and yet ther she was unhaply taken by a Turks man of warr, and carried into Saly,* wher y^e m^r. and men were made slaves, and many of y^e beaver skins were sould for 4^d a peece. [138] Thus was all their hops dasht, and the joyfull news they ment to cary home turned to heavie tidings. Some thought this a hand of God for their too great exaction of y^e poore plantation, but Gods judgments are unseerchable, neither dare I be bould ther-with; but however it shows us y^e uncertainty of all humane things, and what litle cause ther is of joying in them or trusting to them.

In y^e bigger of these ships was sent over Captaine Standish from y^e plantation, wth leters & instructions, both to their freinds of y^e company which still clave to them, and also to y^e Honourable Counsell of New-England. To y^e company to desire y^t seeing that they ment only to let them have goods upon sale, that they might have them upon easier termes, for they should never be able to bear such high intrest, or to allow so much per cent; also that what they would doe in y^t way that it might be disburst in money, or such goods as were fitte and needfull for them, & bought at best hand; and to aquainte them with y^e contents of his leters to y^e Counsell† above said, which was to this purpose, to desire their favour & help; that such of y^e adventurers as had thus forsaken & deserted them, might be brought to some order, and not to keepe them bound, and them selves be free. But that they might either stand to ther former covenants, or ells come to some faire end, by dividente, or composition. But he came in a very bad time, for y^e Stat was full of trouble, and y^e plague

* Sallee. — Ed.

† This letter to the Council, which bears date June 28 of this year, and also

one to Cushman, dated June 9th, and sent at the same time, are preserved in Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

very hote in London, so as no bussines could be done; yet he spake with some of y^e Honourd Counsell, who promised all helpfullnes to y^e plantation which lay in them. And sundrie of their freinds y^e adventurers were so weakened with their losses y^e last year, by y^e losse of y^e ship taken by y^e Turks, and y^e loss of their fish, w^{ch} by reason of y^e warrs they were forcete to land at Portsmouth, and so came to litle; so as, though their wills were good, yet they^r power was litle. And ther dyed such multitudes weekly of y^e plague, as all trade was dead, and litle money stirring. Yet with much adooe he tooke up 150^{li}. (& spent a good deal of it in expences) at 50. per cent. which he bestowed in trading goods & such other most needfull comodities as he knew requisit for their use; and so returned passenger in a fhishing ship, haveing prepared a good way for y^e composition that was afterward made.

In y^e mean time it pleased y^e Lord to give y^e plantation peace and health and contented minds, and so to blesse ther labours, as they had corne sufficient, (and some to spare to others,) with other foode; neither ever had they any supply of foode but what they first brought with them. After harvest this year, they sende out a boats load of corne 40. or 50. leagues to y^e eastward, up a river called Kenibeck; it being one of those 2. shalops which their carpenter had built them y^e year before; for bigger vessell had they none. They had laid a litle deck over her midships to keepe y^e corne drie, but y^e men were faine to stand it out all weathers without shelter; and y^t time [139] of y^e year begins to growe tempestious. But God preserved them, and gave them good success, for they brought home 700^{li}. of beaver, besides some other furs, having litle or nothing els but this corne, which them selves had raised out of y^e earth. This viage was made by M^r. Winslow & some of y^e old standards,* for seamen they had none.

* First written as in the text, then altered to *standerss*. — Ed.

Anno Dom: 1626.

ABOUT y^e begining of Aprill they heard of Captain Standish his arrivall, and sent a boat to fetch him home, and y^e things he had brought. Welcome he was, but y^e news he brought was sadd in many regards; not only in regarde of the former losses, before related, which their freinds had suffered, by which some in a maner were undone, others much disabled from doing any further help, and some dead of y^e plague, but also y^e Mr. Robinson, their pastor, was dead, which struck them with much sorrow & sadnes, as they had cause. His and their adversaries had been long & continually plotting how they might hinder his coming hither, but y^e Lord had appointed him a better place; concerning whose death & the maner therof, it will appere by these few lines write to y^e Gov^r & Mr. Brewster.

Loving & kind frinds, &c. I know not whether this will ever come to your hands, or miscarie, as other my letters have done; yet in regard of y^e Lords dealing with us hear, I have had a great desire to write unto you, knowing your desire to bear a parte with us, both in our joyes, & sorrows, as we doe wth you. These are therefore to give you to understand, that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vae^l of tears, your and our loving & faithfull pastor, and my dear & Reve^d brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some 8. days. He begane to be sick on Saturday in y^e morning, yet y^e next day (being the Lords day) he taught us twise. And so y^e weeke after grew weaker, every day more then other; yet he felt no paine but weaknes all y^e time of his sicknes. The phisick he tooke wrought kindly in mans judgmente, but he grew weaker every day, feeling litle or no paine, and sensible to y^e very last. He fell sicke y^e 22. of Feb: and departed this life y^e 1. of March.* He had a continuall

* These dates, and that of this letter from Leyden, are probably expressed in New Style, which generally prevailed at that time on the Continent, but which England was slow in adopting. From Mr. George Sumner's interesting Me-

moirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden, it appears that Robinson was buried three days after his death, on March 4th, under the pavement of the aisle of the Peter's church. See 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., IX. 50, 71. — Ed.

inwarde ague, but free from infection, so y^e all his freinds came freely to him. And if either prayers, tears, or means, would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his worke which y^e Lord had appointed him here to doe, he now resteth with y^e Lord in eternall hapines. We wanting him & all Church Gov^{ts}, yet we still (by y^e mercie of God) continue & hould close together, in peace and quietnes; and so hope we shall doe, though we be very weake. Wishing (if such were y^e will of God) that you & we were againe united together in one, either ther or here; but seeing it is y^e will of y^e Lord thus to dispose of things, we must labour wth patience to rest contented, till it please y^e Lord otherwise to dispose. For [140] news, is here not much; only as in England we have lost our old king James, who departed this life aboute a month agoe,* so here they have lost y^e old prince, Grave Mourise;† who both departed this life since my brother Robinson. And as in England we have a new-king Charls, of whom ther is great hope, so hear they have made prince Hendrick Generall in his brothers place, &c. Thus with my love remembred, I take leave & rest,

Your assured loving freind,

ROGER WHITE.

Leyden, Aprill 28.

An^o: 1625.

Thus these too great princes, and their pastor, left this world near aboute one time. Death maks no difference.

He further brought them notice of y^e death of their antiente freind, Mr. Cush-man,‡ whom y^e Lord tooke away

* March 27th. — Ep.

† Who died five days before this letter was written. — Ep.

‡ All that is known of Robert Cush-man may be found in this History, if we except some writings attributed to him elsewhere, which incidentally may throw light upon his character. At the end of Mourt's Relation is a paper which bears his initials, entitled "Reasons and Considerations touching the Lawfulness of removing out of England into the Parts of America." Reference has already been made, on page 55, for another purpose, to the sermon preached

at Plymouth during Cushman's brief visit there in 1621, of which, writes Judge Davis, in 1785, "unquestionable tradition renders certain that he was the author, and even transmits to us a knowledge of the spot where it was delivered." The original is a small quarto of nineteen pages, besides six pages of *The Epistle Dedicatory*. The following transcript of the title-page is taken from a copy of the first edition, in the possession of Mr. Edward A. Crowninshield of Boston, probably the only one in the country. "A Sermon Preached at Plimmoth in New-England December 9.

also this year, & aboute this time, who was as their right hand with their freinds y^e adventurers, and for diuerce years had done & agitated all their bussines with them to ther great advantage. He had write to y^e Gove^r but some few months before,* of y^e sore sicknes of M^r. James Sherley, who was a cheefe freind to y^e plantation, and lay at y^e pointe of death, declaring his love & helpfullnes; in all things; and much bemoned the loss they should have of him, if God should now take him away, as being y^e stay & life of y^e whole bussines. As also his owne purposs this year to come over, and spend his days with them. But he that thus write of anothers sicknes, knew not y^t his owne death was so near. It shows also that a mā's ways are not in his owne power, but in his hands who háth y^e issues of life and death. Man may purpose, but God doth dispose.

Their other freinds from Leyden writ many leters to them full of sad laments for ther heavie loss; † and though their wills were good to come to them, yet they saw no probabilitie of means, how it might be effected, but concluded (as it were) that all their hopes were cutt of; and many, being aged, begane to drop away by death.

All which things (before related) being well weighed

1621. In an assemblie of his Majesties faithfull Subjects, there inhabiting. Wherein is shewed the danger of selfe-love, and the sweetnesse of true Friendship. Together with a preface shewing the state of the Country, and condition of the Savages. Rom. 12. 10. *Be affectioned to love one another with brotherly love.* Written in the yeare 1621. London Printed by I. D. for Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two Grey-hounds in Corne-hill, neere the Royall Exchange, 1622." It is dedicated "To His Loving Friends, The Adventurers for New-England; Together with all well-willers and well-wishers thereunto. *Grace & Peace, &c.*"; and is dated "Plymouth in New-England, December 12. 1621." The text is from 1 Cor. 10. 24.

It was the purpose of the discourse to exhort the planters to be faithful to their engagement with the adventurers, in the trying system of community which had been adopted. As has been seen, Cushman came over in the Fortune, and immediately returned in her to London, "for so Mr. Weston and the rest," writes Governor Bradford, "had appointed him, for their better information"; though from the commencement of Weston's letter, on page 114, it would be inferred that he did not expect Mr. Cushman's return in this ship. See pages 105, 108, 114, 201. For an ample account of his descendants, see "Cushman Genealogy." — Ed.

* Under date December 22d, 1621. See p. 201. — Ed.

† See Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

and laied together, it could not but strick them with great perplexitie; and to looke humanly on y^e state of things as they presented them selves at this time, it is a marvell it did not wholly discourage them, and sinck them. But they gathered up their spirits, and y^e Lord so helped them, whose worke they had in hand, as now when they were at lowest* they begane to rise againe, and being striped (in a maner) of all humane helps and hops, he brought things aboute other wise, in his devine providence, as they were not only upheld & sustained, but their proceedings both honoured and imitated by others; as by y^e sequell will more appeare, if y^e Lord spare me life & time to declare y^e same.

Haveing now no fishing busines, or other things to intend, but only their trading & planting, they sett them selves to follow the same with y^e best industrie they could. The planters finding their corne, what they could spare from ther necessities, to be a comoditie, (for they sould it at 6^s. a bushell,) used great dilligence in planting y^e same. And y^e Gove^r and such as were designed to manage the trade, (for it was retained for y^e generall good, [141] and none were to trade in perticuler,) they followed it to the best advantage they could; and wanting trading goods, they understoode that a plantation which was at Monhigen, & belonged to some marchants of Plimoth was to breake up, and diverse usefull goods was ther to be sould; the Gove^r and M^r. Winslow tooke a boat and some hands and went thither. But M^r. David Thomson, who lived at Pascataway,† understanding their purpose, tooke oppertunitie

* Note.

† From the petition of his son, it appears that "in and about" this year Thompson took possession of the island in Massachusetts Bay bearing his name, and there erected a habitation. About the year 1650, a controversy existed between the inhabitants of Dorchester and John Thompson, the son of David, respecting Thompson's Island; and

probably in reference to this a number of curious depositions were made, which furnish a good illustration of the hazard of relying too implicitly upon statements made by ancient people, wholly from memory, concerning events which transpired many years before, and of making them the basis of definite historical conclusions. These depositions are printed in the New England Historical and Gen-

to goe with them, which was some hinderance to them both; for they, perceiueing their joynte desires to buy, held their goods at higher rates; and not only so, but would not sell a parcell of their trading goods, excepte they sould all. So, lest they should further prejudice one an other, they agreed to buy all, & deuid them equally between them. They bought allso a parcell of goats, which they distributed at home as they saw neede & occasion, and tooke corne for them of y^e people, which gave them good content. Their moyety of y^e goods came to

ealogical Register. The Sagamore of Aggawam deposes, "that in the year 1619, or thereabouts, as I remember, I went in my own person with Mr. David Thompson, and that he took possession of the island before Dorchester." &c. William Trevore testifies that Thompson's Island is the same with that formerly called "Island of Trevore, which island I, the said Trevore, took possession of in 1619, and declared the same unto Mr. David Thompson of London," who thereupon obtained a patent of it. Miles Standish deposes, that "in the year 1620 I came into this country, and, I take it, the same year, I was in the Massachusetts Bay with William Trevore," and then, being upon the said island, called it "Island Trevore." It is difficult to see what precise point is attempted to be proved by these declarations, aside from the obvious one of the priority of Thompson's claim to that of Massachusetts; but it will at once be seen that they are inconsistent with each other. The application of a few additional facts to these depositions will show how little they are to be relied upon as definite historical data. William Trevore came over with his fellow-deponent, Standish, in the Mayflower; and it is well known that the first visit which the Plymouth people made to Boston harbor was in September of the next year, 1621. Standish was one of the ten in that expedition, and Trevore may have been of the number. This is the earliest period at which these two could have been together at Thompson's Island, being two years after the time when the latter, as he states, took pos-

session. Trevore went back to England after having been a year in the country; probably returning in the Fortune, which did not arrive at London till the middle of February of the next year. He may then have communicated with Mr. Thompson, as he states above. This shows the value to be placed upon the testimony of the Sagamore, who declares that Thompson took possession himself in 1619; though he adds the important qualification, as to time, of "thereabouts." It is possible that Thompson may have had a grant of the island which bears his name for some time previous to his occupany of it, and before he came over in the early part of the year 1623. From the Rev. Mr. Felt's Memoranda from the State Paper Office, previously referred to, being extracts from what is supposed to be the Records of the Council for New England, is the following: "November 16th, 1622. Mr. Thompson's patent signed. December 3d. Mr. Thompson proposes to transport ten persons." We have nothing further to show the identity of this Mr. Thompson with our David, or to indicate the location of this patent. It appears from this History, on page 122, that Trevore, on his return to England, communicated freely to others "what he knew or imagined" of different parts of the country here. He is probably the same person we find in Winthrop, I. 100. See page 154; Records of Mass. Colony, III. 202, 203, 217; New England Hist. and Gener. Reg., IX. 248; Mourt, in Young, pp. 224-229; List of Passengers in the Mayflower, in Appendix, No. 1. — Ed.

above 400^{li}. sterling. Ther was allso that spring a French ship cast away at Sacadahock, in w^{ch} were many Biscaie ruggs & other comodities, which were falen into these mens hands, & some other fisher men at Damerins-cove, which were allso bought in partnership, and made their parte arise to above 500^{li}. This they made shift to pay for, for y^e most part, with y^e beaver & comodities they had gott y^e winter before, & what they had gathered up y^t somer. M^r. Thomson having some thing overcharged him selfe, desired they would take some of his, but they refused except he would let them have his French goods only; and y^e marchant (who was one of Bristol) would take their bill for to be paid y^e next year. They were both willing, so they became ingaged for them & tooke them. By which means they became very well furnished for trade; and tooke of therby some other ingagments w^{ch} lay upon them, as the money taken up by Captaine Standish, and y^e remains of former debts. With these goods, and their corne after harvest, they gott good store of trade, so as they were enabled to pay their ingagements against y^e time, & to get some cloathing for y^e people, and had some comodities before hand. But now they begane to be envied, and others wente and fild y^e Indeans with corne, and beat downe y^e prise, givinge them twice as much as they had done, and under traded them in other comodities allso.

This year they sent M^r. Allerton into England, and gave him order to make a composition with y^e adventurers, upon as good termes as he could (unto which some way had ben made y^e year before by Captaine Standish); but yet injoyned him not to conclud absolutly till they knew y^e termes, and had well considered of them; but to drive it to as good an issew as he could, and referr y^e conclusion to them. Also they gave him a comission* under

* Bearing date July 2, 1626. Mr. Allerton was authorized to negotiate for a loan of "one hundred pounds sterling, for the space of two years" Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

their hands & seals to take up some money, provided it exceeded not such a sūme specified, for which they engaged them selves, and gave him order how to lay out y^e same for y^e use of y^e plantation.

And finding they rañe a great hazard to goe so long viages in a smale open boat, espetially y^e winter season, they begane to thinke how they might gett a small pirass; as for y^e reason afforesaid, so also because others had raised y^e prise with y^e Indeans above y^e halfe of what they had formerly given, so as in such a boat they could not [143*] carry a quantity sufficient to answer their ends. They had no ship-carpenter amongst them, neither knew how to get one at presente; but they having an ingenious man that was a house carpenter, who also had wrought with y^e ship carpenter (that was dead) when he built their boats, at their request he put forth him selfe to make a triall that way of his skill; and tooke one of y^e biggest of ther shalops and sawed her in y^e midle, and so lenthened her some 5. or 6. foote, and strengthened her with timbers, and so builde her up, and laid a deck on her; and so made her a conveniente and wholsome vessell, very fitt & comfortable for their use, which did them servise 7. years after; and they gott her finished, and fitted with sayles & anchors, y^e insuing year. And thus passed y^e affairs of this year.

Anno Dom: 1627.

At y^e usuall season of y^e coming of ships M^r. Allerton returned, and brought some usfull goods with him, according to y^e order given him. For upon his commission he tooke up 200^{li}. which he now gott at 30. per cent. The which goods they gott safly home, and well conditioned, which was much to the comfort & contente of y^e planta-

* Here occurs another error in the paging of the original; 142 is omitted.
— Ed.

tion. He declared unto them, also, how, with much adoe and no small trouble, he had made a composition with y^e adventurers, by the help of sundrie of their faithfull freinds ther, who had also tooke much pains ther about. The agreement or bargin he had brought a draught of, with a list of ther names ther too annexed, drawne by the best counsell of law they could get, to make it firme. The heads wherof I shall here inserte.

To all Christian people, greeting, &c. Whereas at a meeting y^e 26. of October last past, diverse & sundrie persons, whose names to y^e one part of these presents are subscribed in a schedule hereunto annexed, Adventurers to New-Plimoth in New-England in America, were contented and agreed, in consideration of the sume of one thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling to be paid, (in maner and forme following,) to sell, and make sale of all & every y^e stocks, shares, lands, marchandise, and chatles, what soever, to y^e said adventurers, and other ther fellow adventurers to New Plimoth aforesaid, any way accruing, or belonging to y^e generalitie of y^e said adventurers aforesaid; as well by reason of any sume or sumes of money, or marchandise, at any time heretofore adventured or disbursed by them, or other wise howsoever; for y^e better expression and setting forth of which said agreemente, the parties to these presents subscribing, doe for [144] them selves severally, and as much as in them is, grant, bargin, alien, sell, and transfere all & every y^e said shares, goods, lands, marchandice, and chatles to them belonging as aforesaid, unto Isaack Allerton, one of y^e planters resident at Plimoth aforesaid, assigned, and sent over as agente for y^e rest of y^e planters ther, and to such other planters at Plimoth aforesaid as y^e said Isack, his heirs, or assignes, at his or ther arrivall, shall by writing or otherwise thinke fitte to joyne or partake in y^e premisses, their heirs, & assignes, in as large, ample, and beneficiall maner and forme, to all intents and purposes, as y^e said subscribing adventurers here could or may doe, or performe. All which stocks, shares, lands, &c. to the said adven: in severalltie allotted, apportioned, or any way belonging, the said adven: doe warrant & defend unto the said Isaack Allerton, his heirs and assignes, against them, their heirs and assignes, by these presents. And therefore y^e said Isaack Allerton doth,

for him, his heirs & assigns, covenant, promise, & grant too & with y^e adven: whose names are here unto subscribed, ther heirs, &c. well & truly to pay, or cause to be payed, unto y^e said adven: or 5. of them which were, at y^t meeting afforsaid, nominated & deputed, viz. *John Pocock, John Beachamp, Robart Keane, Edward Base, and James Sherley*, marchants, their heirs, &c. too and for y^e use of y^e generallitie of them, the sume of 1800^{li}. of lawfull money of England, at y^e place appoynted for y^e receipts of money, on the west side of y^e Royall Exchaing in London, by 200^{li}. yearly, and every year, on y^e feast of St. Migchell, the first paiment to be made An^o: 1628. &c. Allso y^e said Isaack is to indeavor to procure & obtaine from y^e planters of N. P. aforesaid, securitie, by severall obligations, or writings obligatory, to make paiment of y^e said sume of 1800^{li}. in forme afforsaid, according to y^e true meaning of these presents. In testimonie wherof to this part of these presents remaining with y^e said Isaack Allerton, y^e said subscribing adven: have sett to their names,* &c. And to y^e other part remaining with y^e said adven: the said Isaack Allerton hath subscribed his name, y^e 15. Nov^{br}. An^o: 1626. in y^e 2. year of his Majesties raigne.

This agreemente was very well liked of, & approved by all y^e plantation, and consented unto; though they knew

* Below are the names of the adventurers subscribed to this paper, taken from Bradford's Letter-Book, 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 48; being forty-two in number. The names of six of these persons are found subsequently among the members of the Massachusetts Company, viz. John White, John Pocock, Thomas Goffe, Samuel Sharpe, John Revell, and Thomas Andrews. Mr. Haven, who edited the Records of the Massachusetts Company, is of opinion that the first person on the list is the celebrated clergyman of Dorchester, the reputed author of the Planter's Plea. Emnu. Alltham is probably the same person named in the Council Records, under date January 21, 1622-3: "Emanuel Altum to command the Pinnace built for Mr. Peirce's Plantation." Smith speaks of "Captaine Altom" as commanding this vessel, but Morton says the name of the master of the Little James was Mr. Bridges, who it appears was drowned at Damariscove, in March, 1624. See Coll. of

the Amer. Antiq. Soc., III. 26, 62, Preface; Felt's MS. Memoranda from the Council Records; Smith's General Historie, p. 239; Morton's Memorial, p. 48.

John White,	John Thorne,
John Pocock,	Myles Knowles,
Robert Kean,	William Collier,
Edward Bass,	John Revell,
William Hobson,	Peter Gudburn,
William Penington,	Emnu. Alltham,
William Quarles,	John Beauchamp,
Daniel Poynton,	Thomas Hudson,
Richard Andrews,	Thomas Andrews,
Newman Rookes,	Thomas Ward,
Henry Browning,	Fria. Newbald,
Richard Wright,	Thomas Heath,
John Ling,	Joseph Tilden,
Thomas Goffe,	William Perrin,
Samuel Sharpe,	Eliza Knight,
Robert Holland,	Thomas Coventry,
James Sherley,	Robert Alden,
Thomas Mott,	Lawrence Anthony,
Thomas Fletcher,	John Knight,
Timothy Hatherly,	Matthew Thornhill,
Thomas Brewer,	Thomas Millsop.

— Ed.

not well how to raise y^e payment, and discharge their other ingagements, and supply the yearly wants of y^e plantation, seeing they were forced for their necessities to take up money or goods at so high intrests. Yet they undertooke it, and 7. or 8. of y^e cheefe of y^e place became joyntly bound for y^e paimente of this 1800th. (in y^e behalfe of y^e rest) at y^e severall days. In which they ran a great adventure, as their present state stood, having many other heavie burthens allready upon them, and all things in an uncertaine condition amongst them. So y^e next returne it was absolutly confirmed on both sids, and y^e bargen fairly ingrossed in partchmente and in many things put into better forme, by y^e advice of y^e learnedest counsell they could gett; and least any forfeiture should fall on y^e whole for none paimente at any of y^e days, it rane thus: to forfeite 30^s. a weeke if they missed y^e time; and was concluded under their hands & seals, as may be seen at large by y^e deed it selfe.*

[145] Now though they had some untowarde persons mixed amongst them from the first, which came out of England, and more afterwards by some of y^e adventurers, as freindship or other affections led them, — though sundrie were gone, some for Virginia, and some to other places, — yet diverse were still mingled amongst them, about whom y^e Gove^r & counsell with other of their cheefe freinds had serious consideration, how to setle things in regard of this new bargen or purchas made, in respect of y^e distribution of things both for y^e presente and future. For y^e present, excepte peace and union were preserved, they should be able to doe nothing, but indanger to overthrow all, now that other tyes & bonds were taken away. Therfore they resolved, for sundrie reasons, to take in all amongst them, that were either heads of families, or single yonge men, thav were of abillity, and free, (and able to governe them selvs with meete descretion, and their af-

* Which is not here inserted. — Ed.

fairs, so as to be helpfull in y^e comone-welth,) into this partnership or purchass. First, y^{ey} considered that they had need of men & strength both for defence and carrying on of bussinesses. 2^{ly}, most of them had borne ther parts in former miseries & wants with them, and therefore (in some sort) but equall to partake in a better condition, if y^e Lord be pleased to give it. But cheefly they saw not how peace would be preserved without so doing, but danger & great disturbance might grow to their great hurte & prejudice other wise. Yet they resolved to keep such a mean in distribution of lands, and other courses, as should not hinder their growth in others coming to them.

So they caled y^e company together, and conferred with them, and came to this conclusion, that y^e trade should be managed as before, to help to pay the debts; and all such persons as were above named should be reputed and inrouled for purchasers; single free men to have a single share, and every father of a familie to be allowed to purchass so many shares as he had persons in his family; that is to say, one for him selfe, and one for his wife, and for every child that he had living with him, one. As for servants, they had none, but what either their maisters should give them out of theirs, or their deservings should obtaine from y^e company afterwards. Thus all were to be cast into single shares according to the order above-said; and so every one was to pay his part according to his proportion towards y^e purchass, & all other debts, what y^e profite of y^e trade would not reach too; viz. a single man for a single share, a maister of a famalie for so many as he had. This gave all good contente. And first accordingly the few catle which they had were devided,* which arose to this proportion; a cove to 6. persons or shars, & 2. goats to y^e same, which were first equalised

* This division of cattle, concluded upon at a public court held May 22d of this year, may be seen in Davis's edition of the Memorial, pp. 381-386.

The rule for division there indicated appears to be, one cow and two goats to thirteen persons. — Ed.

for age & goodnes, and then lotted for; single persons consorting with others, as they thought good, & smaler familys likewise; and swine though more [146] in number, yet by y^e same rule. Then they agreed that every person or share should have 20. acres of land devided unto them, besids y^e single acres they had allready;* and they ap-
poynted were to begin first on y^e one side of y^e towne, & how farr to goe; and then on y^e other side in like maner; and so to devid it by lotte; and appointed sundrie by name to doe it, and tyed them to certaine ruls to proceed by; as that they should only lay out setttable or tillable land, at least such of it as should butt on y^e water side, (as y^e most they were to lay out did,) and pass by y^e rest as refuse and comūne; and what they judged fitte should be so taken. And they were first to agree of y^e goodnes & fitnes of it before the lott was drawne, and so it might as well prove some of ther owne, as an other mans; and this course they were to hould throwout. But yet seeke-
ing to keepe y^e people together, as much as might be, they allso agreed upon this order, by mutuall consente, before any lots were cast: that whose lotts soever should fall next y^e towne, or most conveninte for nearnes, they should take to them a neigboure or tow, whom they best liked; and should suffer them to plant corne with them for 4. years; and afterwards they might use as much of theirs for as long time, if they would. Allso every share or 20. acers was to be laid out 5. acres in breadth by y^e water side, and 4. acres in lenght, excepting nooks & corners, which were to be measured as y^{ey} would bear to best advantage. But no meadows were to be laid out at all, nor were not of many years after, because they were but streight of meadow grounds; and if they had bene now given out, it would have hindred all addition to them afterwards; but every season all were appoynted wher

* This division of lands was agreed upon at a Court held January 3d, 1627-8. See Hazard, I. 180, 181. — Ed.

they should mowe, according to y^e proportion of catle they had. This distribution gave generally good contente, and settled mens minds. Also they gave y^e Gove^r & 4. or 5. of y^e spetiall men amongst them, y^e houses they lived in ; y^e rest were valued & equalised at an indiferent rate, and so every man kept his owne, and he that had a better alowed some thing to him that had a worse, as y^e v^{al}uation wente.

Ther is one thing that fell out in y^e begining of y^e winter before, which I have refferred to this place, that I may handle y^e whole matter together. Ther was a ship, with many passengers in her and sundrie goods, bound for Virginia. They had lost them selves at sea, either by y^e insufficiencie of y^e maister, or his ilnes ; for he was sick & lame of y^e scurvie, so that he could but lye in y^e cabin dore, & give direction ; and it should seeme was badly assisted either wth mate or mariners ; or else y^e fear and unrulines of y^e passengers were such, as they made them steer a course betweene y^e southwest & y^e norwest, that they might fall with some land, what soever it was they cared not. For they had been 6. weeks at sea, and had no water, nor beere, nor any woode left, but had burnt up all their emptie caske ; only one of y^e company had a hogshead of wine or 2. which was allso almost spent, so as they feared they should be starved at sea, or consumed with diseases, which made them rune this desperate course. But it plased God that though they came so neare y^e shoulds of Cap-Codd [147] or else ran stumbling over them in y^e night, they knew not how, they came right before a small blind harbore, that lyes aboute y^e midle of Manamoyake Bay, to y^e southward of Cap-Codd, with a small gale of wind ; and about highwater toucht upon a barr of sand that lyes before it, but had no hurte, y^e sea being smoth ; so they laid out an anchore. But towards the evēing the wind sprunge up at sea, and was so rough, as broake their cable, & beat them over the barr into y^e

harbor, wher they saved their lives & goods, though much were hurte with salt water; for wth beating they had sprung y^e but end of a planke or too, & beat out ther occome; but they were soone over, and ran on a drie flate within the harbor, close by a beach; so at low water they gatt out their goods on drie shore, and dried those that were wette, and saved most of their things without any great loss; neither was y^e ship much hurt, but shee might be mended, and made servisable againe. But though they were not a litle glad that they had thus saved their lives, yet when they had a litle refreshed them selves, and begane to thinke on their condition, not knowing wher they were, nor what they should doe, they begane to be stricken with sadnes. But shortly after they saw some Indians come to them in canows, which made them stand upon their gard. But when they heard some of y^e Indeans speake English unto them, they were not a litle revived, especially when they heard them demand if they were the Gove^r of Plimoths men, or freinds; and y^t they would bring them to y^e English houses, or carry their letters.

They feasted these Indeans, and gave them many giftes; and sente 2. men and a letter with them to y^e Gove^r, and did intreat him to send a boat unto them, with some pitch, & occome, and spijs, wth divers other necessaries for y^e mending of ther ship (which was recoverable). Also they besought him to help them with some corne and sundrie other things they wanted, to enable them to make their viage to Virginia; and they should be much bound to him, and would make satisfaction for any thing they had, in any comodities they had aboard. After y^e Gov^r was well informed by y^e messengers of their condition, he caused a boate to be made ready, and such things to be provided as they write for; and because others were abroad upon trading, and such other affairs, as had been fitte to send unto them, he went him selfe, & also carried some trading comodities, to buy them corne of y^e Indeans.

It was no season of y^e year to goe withoute y^e Cape, but understanding wher y^e ship lay, he went into y^e bottom of y^e bay, on y^e inside, and put into a crick called Naumskachett,* wher it is not much above 2. mile over [148] land to y^e bay wher they were, wher he had y^e Indeans ready to cary over any thing to them. Of his arrivall they were very glad, and received the things to mend ther ship, & other necessaries. Allso he bought them as much corne as they would have; and wheras some of their sea-men were rune away amonge the Indeans, he procured their returne to y^e ship, and so left them well furnished and contented, being very thankfull for y^e curtesies they received. But after the Gove^r thus left them, he went into some other harbors ther aboute and loaded his boat with corne, which he traded, and so went home. But he had not been at home many days, but he had notice from them, that by the violence of a great storme, and y^e bad morring of their ship (after she was mended) she was put a shore, and so beatten and shaken as she was now wholly unfitte to goe to sea.† And so their request was that they might have leave to repaire to them, and soujourne with them, till they could have means to convey them selves to Virginia; and that they might have means to trāsport their goods, and they would pay for y^e same, or any thing els wher with y^e plantation should releevv them. Considering their distres, their requests were granted, and all helpfullnes done unto them; their goods transported, and them selves & goods sheltered in their houses as well as they could.

The cheefe amongst these people was one M^r. Fells and

* "In the northwest quarter of the township, on Barnstable Bay, is Namskeket Creek, which is three quarters of a mile long, and which, as far as it runs, is the dividing line between Orleans and Harwich [now Brewster]." Description of Orleans, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 188. — Ed.

† The beach where this ship was stranded still bears the name of Old Ship, and it is said that some portions of the wreck were to be seen about seventy years ago. See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 144. — Ed.

Mr. Sibsie, which had many servants belonging unto them, many of them being Irish. Some others ther were y^e had a servante or 2. a peece; but y^e most were servants, and such as were ingaged to the former persons, who allso had y^e most goods. Affter they were hither come, and some thing settled, the maisters desired some ground to imploye ther servants upon; seing it was like to be y^e latter end of y^e year before they could have passage for Virginia, and they had now y^e winter before them; they might clear some ground, and plant a crope (seeing they had tools, & necessaries for y^e same) to help to bear their charge, and keep their servants in imployment; and if they had oppertunitie to departe before the same was ripe, they would sell it on y^e ground. So they had ground appointed them in convenient places, and Fells & some other of them raised a great deall of corne, which they sould at their departure. This Fells, amongst his other servants, had a maid servante which kept his house & did his houshold affairs, and by the intimation of some that belonged unto him, he was suspected to keep her, as his concubine; and both of them were examined ther upon, but nothing could be proved, and they stood upon their justification; so with admonition they were dismist. But afterward it appeard she was with child, so he gott a small boat, & ran away with her, for fear of punishmente. First he went to Cap-Anne, and after into y^e bay of y^e Massachusetts, but could get no passage, and had like to have been cast away; and was forst to come againe and submitte him selfe; but they pact him away & those that belonged unto him by the first oppertunitie, and dismist all the rest as soone as could, being many untoward people amongst them; though ther were allso some that caried them selves very orderly all y^e time they stayed. And the plantation [149] had some benefite by them, in selling them corne & other provisions of food for cloathing; for they had of diverse kinds, as cloath, perpetuanes, & other

stuffs, besides hose, & shoes, and such like commodities as y^e planters stood in need of. So they both did good, and received good one from another; and a cuple of barks caried them away at y^e later end of somer. And sundrie of them have acknowledged their thankfullnes since from Virginia.

That they might y^e better take all convenient opportunitie to follow their trade, both to maintaine them selves, and to disingage them of those great sumes which they stood charged with, and bound for, they resolved to build a smale pinass at Manamet,* a place 20. mile from y^e plantation, standing on y^e sea to y^e southward of them, unto which, by an other creeke on this side, they could cary their goods, within 4. or 5. miles, and then trāsport them over land to their vessell; and so avoyd the compassing of Cap-Codd, and those deangerous shoulds, and so make any vioage to y^e southward in much shorter time, and with farr less danger. Also for y^e saftie of their vessell & goods, they builte a house their, and kept some servants, who also planted corne, and reared some swine, and were allwayes ready to goe out with y^e barke when ther was occasion. All which tooke good effecte, and turned to their profite.

They now sent (with y^e returne of y^e ships) M^r. Allerton againe into England, givinge him full power, under their hands & seals, to conclude the former bargain with y^e adventurers; and sent ther bonds for y^e paimente of the money. Allso they sent what beaver they could spare to pay some of their ingagementes, & to defray his chargs; for those deepe interests still kepte them low. Also he had order to procure a patente for a fitt trading place in y^e river of Kenebeck; for being emulated both by the planters at Pascataway & other places to y^e eastward of them, and allso by y^e fishing ships, which used to draw much

* A part of Sandwich which lies on zard's Bay. See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., Manomet River, which runs into Buz- VIII. 252, 253. — Ed.

profite from y^e Indeans of those parts, they threatened to procure a grante, & shutte them out from thence; espetially after they saw them so well furnished with comodities, as to carie the trade from them. They thought it but needfull to prevente such a thing, at least that they might not be excluded from free trade ther, wher them selves had first begune and discovered the same, ād brought it to so good effecte. This year allso they had letters, and messengers from y^e Dutch-plantation, sent unto them from y^e Gov^r ther, writen both in Dutch & French. The Dutch had traded in these southerne parts, diverse years before they came; but they begane no plantation hear till 4. or 5. years after their coming, and here begining.* Ther letters were as followeth. It being their maner to be full of complementall titles.

Eedele, Eerenfeste Wyse Voorsinnige Heeren, den Göveerneur, ende Raeden in Nieu-Pliemūen residerende; onse seer Goede vrinden den directeūr ende Raed van Nieu-Nederlande, wensen vñe Edn: cerenfesten, ende wijse voorsinnige gelück salichitt [gelukzaligheid?], In Christi Jesu onsen Heere; met goede voorspoet, ende gesonthijt, naer siele, ende lichaem. Amen.†

The rest I shall render in English, leaving out the repetition of superfluous titles.

[150] We have often before this wished for an opportunitie or an occasion to congratulate you, and your prosperous and praise-worthy undertakeings, and Government of your colony ther. And the more, in that we also have made a good beginning to pitch y^e foundation of a collonie hear; and seeing our native countrie lyes not farr from yours, and our forefathers

* The first permanent agricultural colonization of New Netherlands was in the spring of 1623. See Brodhead's *New York*, p. 150. — Ed.

† The orthography of some of these words differs from the modern way of spelling them; and we have no means of ascertaining the accuracy of Bradford's copy from the original letter. This passage may be rendered thus: —

“Noble, worshipful, wise, and prudent Lords, the Governor and Councilors residing in New Plymouth, our very dear friends: — The Director and Council of New Netherland wish to your Lordships, worshipful, wise, and prudent, happiness in Christ Jesus our Lord, with prosperity and health, in soul and body.” — Ed.

(diverse hundred years agoe) have made and held frendship and alliance with your ancestours, as sufficiently appears by y^e old contractes, and entrecourses, confirmed under y^e hands of kings & princes, in y^e pointe of warr & trafick; as may be seene and read by all y^e world in y^e old chronakles. The which are not only by the king now reigning confirmed, but it hath pleased his majesty, upon mature deliberation, to make a new covenante, (and to take up armes,) with y^e States Generall of our dear native country, against our comone enemie the Spaniards, who seeke nothing else but to usurpe and overcome other Christian kings and princes lands, that so he might obtaine and possess his pretended monarchie over all Christendom; and so to rule and comand, after his owne pleasure, over y^e consciences of so many hundred thousand sowles, which God forbid.

And also seeing it hath some time since been reported unto us, by some of our people, that by occasion came so farr northward with their shalop, and met with sundry of y^e Indeans, who tould them that they were within halfe a days journey of your plantation, and offered ther service to cary letters unto you; therefore we could not forbear to salute you with these few lines, with presentation of our good will and servise unto you, in all frendly-kindnes & neighbourhood. And if it so fall out that any goods that comes to our hands from our native countrie, may be serviceable unto you, we shall take our selves bound to help and accomodate you ther with; either for beaver or any other wares or marchandise that you should be pleased to deale for. And if in case we have no comodity at present that may give you contente, if you please to sell us any beaver, or otter, or such like comodities as may be usefull for us, for ready money, and let us understand therof by this bearer in writing, (whom we have apoynted to stay 3. or 4. days for your answer,) when we understand your minds therin, we shall depute one to deale with you, at such place as you shall appointe. In y^e mean time we pray the Lord to take you, our honoured good freinds and neighbours, into his holy protection.

By the appointment of y^e Gov^r and Counsell, &c.

ISAAC DE RASIER, Secretaris.*

From y^e Manhatas, in y^e fort Amsterdam,

March 9. An^o: 1627.

* This letter may have been copied the language in which it was written, by Bradford into his Letter-Book, in but it is not preserved in the printed

To this they returned answer as followeth, on y^e other side.*

[151] To the Honoured, &c.

The Gove^r & Counsell of New-Plim: wisheth, &c. We have received your leters, &c. wherein appeareth your good wills & frendship towards us; but is exp^{re}sed wth over high titls, more then belongs to us, or is meete for us to receive. But for your good will, and congratulations of our prosperitie in these smale beginings of our poore colonie, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks doe acknowledg y^e same; taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certaine testimoney of your love and good neighbourhood.

Now these are further to give your Wor^{pp}s to understand, that it is to us no smale joye to hear, that his majestie hath not only bene pleased to confirme y^t ancient amitie, aliance, and frendship, and other contracts, formerly made & ratified by his predecessors of famous memorie, but hath him selfe (as you say) strengthened the same with a new-union the better to resist y^r prid of y^t com^one enemy y^e Spaniard, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both, and our native countries. Now forasmuch as this is sufficiente to unite us together in love and good neighbourhood, in all our dealings, yet are many of us further obliged, by the good and curteous entreaty which we have found in your cuntry; haveing lived ther many years, with freedome, and good contente, as also many of our freinds doe to this day; for which we, and our children after us, are bound to be thankfull to your Nation, and shall never forgett y^e same, but shall hartily desire your good & prosperity, as our owne, for ever.

Likwise for your freindly tender, & offer to accomodate and help us with any comodities or marchandise you have, or shall come to you, either for beaver, otters, or other wares, it is to us very acceptable, and we doubt not but in short time we may have profitable com^{er}ce & trade together. But for this year we are fully supplied with all necessities, both for cloathing and other things; but hereafter it is like we shall deale with you.

volume. Bradford there remarks: "I will not trouble myself to translate this letter, seeing the effect of it will be understood by the answer which now follows in English, though writ to them in Dutch." This translation was sub-

sequently made by him for this History. The date of the letter is in New Style. See 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 51. — Ed.

* This being the conclusion of page 150, in the original manuscript. — Ed.

if your rates be reasonable. And therefore when you please to send to us againe by any of yours, we desire to know how you will take beaver, by y^e pounce, & otters, by y^e skine; and how you will deale per cent. for other comodities, and what you can furnishe us with. As likewise what other commodities from us may be acceptable unto you, as tobacco, fish, corne, or other things, and what prises you will give, &c.

Thus hoping that you will pardon & excuse us for our rude and imperfecte writing in your language, and take it in good parte, because [152] for wante of use we cannot so well express that we understand, nor hapily understand every thing so fully as we should. And so we humbly pray the Lord for his mercie sake, that he will take both us and you into his keeping & gracious protection.

By y^e Gove^r and Counsell of New-Plimoth,

Your Wor^{ps} very good freinds & neighbours, &c.*

New-Plim: March 19.

After this ther was many passages betweene them both by letters and other entercourse; and they had some profitable commerce together for diverce years, till other occasions interrupted y^e same, as may happily appear afterwards, more at large.

Before they sent M^r. Allerton away for England this year, y^e Gove^r and some of their cheefe freinds had serious consideration, not only how they might discharge those great ingagments which lay so heavily upon them, as is affore mentioned, but also how they might (if possible they could) devise means to help some of their freinds and breethren of Leyden over unto them, who desired so much to come to them, ad they desired as much their company. To effecte which, they resolved to rune a high course, and

* There is one passage in the copy of this letter in Bradford's Letter-Book, which is here omitted. The Dutch are therein cautioned against settling within the limits of the territory granted to the Council for New England, and are desired to "forbear to trade with the natives in this bay, and river of Narragansett and Sowams, which is, as it were,

at our doors." There are, besides, some slight verbal variations in the two copies of this letter.

Bradford took the precaution to advise the Council for New England, and also Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of these friendly overtures of the Dutch, transmitting copies of the correspondence. See Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

of great adventure, not knowing otherwise how to bring it aboute. Which was to hire y^e trade of y^e company for certaine years, and in that time to undertake to pay that 1800^{li}. and all y^e rest of y^e debts that then lay upon y^e plantation, which was aboute some 600^{li}. more; and so to set them free, and returne the trade to y^e generalitie againe at y^e end of y^e terme. Upon which resolution they called y^e company together, and made it clearly appear unto all what their debts were, and upon what terms they would undertake to pay them all in such a time, and sett them clear. But their other ends they were faine to keepe secrete, haveing only privatly acquaynted some of their trusty freinds therwith; which were glad of y^e same, but doubted how they would be able to performe it. So after some agitation of the thing wth y^e company, it was yeilded unto, and the agreemente made upon y^e conditions following.

Articles of agreemente betweene y^e collony of New-Plimoth of y^e one partie, and William Bradford, Captein Myles Standish, Isaack Allerton, &c. one y^e other partie; and shuch others as they shall thinke good to take as partners and undertakers with them, concerning the trade for beaver & other furs & comodities, &c.; made July, 1627.

First, it is agreed and covenanted betweexte y^e said parties. that y^e afforsaid William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, & Isaack Allerton, &c. have undertaken, and doe by these presents, covenante and agree to pay, discharge, and acquite y^e said collony of all y^e debtes both due for y^e purchass, or any other belonging to them, at y^e day of y^e date of these presents.

[153] Secondly, y^e above-said parties are to have and freely injoye y^e pinass latly builde, the boat at Manamett, and y^e shallop, called y^e Bass-boat, with all other implements to them belonging, that is in y^e store of y^e said company; with all y^e whole stock of furs, fells, beads, corne, wampampeak, hatchets, knives, &c. that is now in y^e storre, or any way due unto y^e same uppon accounte.

3^{ly}. That y^e above said parties have y^e whole trade to themselves, their heires and assignes, with all y^e privileges therof, as

y^e said collonie doth now, or may use the same, for 6. full years, to begine y^e last of September next insuing.

4^y. In further consideration of y^e discharge of y^e said debtes, every severall purchaser doth promise and covenante yearly to pay, or cause to be payed, to the above said parties, during y^e full terme of y^e said 6. years, 3. bushells of corne, or 6th. of tobacco, at y^e undertakers choyse.

5^y. The said undertakers shall dureing y^e afforesaid terme bestow 50th. per annum, in hose and shoese, to be brought over for y^e collonies use, to be sould unto them for corne at 6^s. per bushell.

6^y. That at y^e end of y^e said terme of 6. years, the whole trade shall returne to y^e use and benefite of y^e said collonie, as before.

Lastly, if y^e afforesaid undertakers, after they have aquainted their freinds in England with these covenants, doe (upon y^e first returne) resolve to performe them, and undertake to discharge y^e debtes of y^e said collony, according to y^e true meaning & intente of these presents, then they are (upon such notice given) to stand in full force; otherwise all things to remaine as formerly they were, and a true accounte to be given to y^e said collonie, of the disposing of all things according to the former order.*

M^r. Allerton carried a copy of this agreemente with him into England, and amongst other his instructions had order given him to deale with some of their speciall freinds, to joyne with them in this trade upon y^e above recited conditions; as allso to imparte their further ends that moved them to take this course, namly, the helping over of some of their freinds from Leyden, as they should be able; in which if any of them would joyne with them

* In Bradford's Letter-Book the names of twenty-seven persons are given as subscribers to this agreement on the part of the colony.

"The names of the undertakers were these following, for the three before mentioned made choice of these other, and though they knew not their minds before, (many of them being absent,) yet they did presume they would join with

them in the thing, as afterward they did.

William Bradford,	<i>And these of London:</i>
Captain Standish,	James Sherley,
Isaac Allerton,	John Beauchamp,
Edward Winslow,	Richard Andrews,
William Brewster,	Timothy Hatherly."
John Howland,	
John Allden,	— Ed.
Thomas Prince.	

they should thankfully acceptt of their love and partnership herein. And with all (by their letters) gave them some grounds of their hops of the accomplismente of these things with some advantage.

Anno Dom: 1628.

AFTER Mr. Allertons arivall in England,* he aquainted them with his comission and full power to conclude y^e forementioned bargan & purchas; † [154] upon the veiwherof, and y^e delivery of y^e bonds for y^e paymente of y^e money yearly, (as is before mentioned,) it was fully concluded, and a deede ‡ fairly ingrossed in partchmente was delivered him, under their hands & seals confirming the same. Morover he delte with them aboute other things according to his instructions. As to admitt some of these their good freinds into this purchass if they pleased, and to deale with them for moneys at better rates, &c. Touching which I shall hear inserte a letter of Mr. Sherleys, giving light to what followed therof, writ to y^e Gov^r as followeth.§

Str: || I have received yours of y^e 26. of May by Mr. Gibbs, & Mr. Goffe, with y^e barrell of otter skins, according to y^e contents; for which I got a bill of store, and so tooke them up, and sould them togeather at 78^{ti}. 12^s. sterling; and since, Mr. Allerton hath received y^e money, as will apear by the accounte. It is true (as you write) that your ingagments are great, not only the purchass, but you are yet necessitated to take up y^e stock you work upon; and y^t not at 6. or 8. p^r cent. as it is here let out, but at

* In the summer or autumn of the last year. — Ed.

† That is, the purchase by the colony of the interest of the adventurers. See pages 212–214. — Ed.

‡ Nov. 6. 1627. Page 238. [Reference is here made to the page of the original manuscript. — Ed.]

§ If the date of this letter is correct, it must be referred to the time of Mr. Allerton's visit to London this year

(1628), and not to that of last year, from which he returned this spring. But as it naturally comes in at this place in the narrative, its true date may possibly be 1627. — Ed.

|| Addressed, "To his worthy and loving friend, Mr. William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, in New England, these." Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

30. 40. yea, & some at 50. p^r cent. which, were not your gaines great, and Gods blessing on your honest indeaours more then ordinarie, it could not be y^t you should longe subsiste in y^e maintaining of, & upholding of your worldly affaires. And this your honest & discreete agente, M^r. Allerton, hath seriously considered, & deeply laid to mind, how to ease you of it. He tould me you were contented to accepte of me & some few others, to joyne with you in y^e purchass, as partners; for which I kindly thanke you and all y^e rest, and doe willingly accepte of it. And though absente, shall willingly be at shuch charge as you & y^e rest shall thinke meete; and this year am contented to forbear my former 50th. and 2. years increase for y^e venture, both which now makes it 80th. without any bargaine or condition for y^e profite, you (I mean y^e generalitie) stand to y^e adventure, outward, and homeward. I have perswaded M^r. Andrews and M^r. Beachamp to doe y^e like, so as you are eased of y^e high rate, you were at y^e other 2. yeaes; I say we leave it freely to your selves to allow us what you please, and as God shall blesse. What course I rune, M^r. Beachamp desireth to doe y^e same; and though he have been or seemed somewhat harsh heretofore, yet now you shall find he is new moulded. I allso see by your letter, you desire I should be your agente or factore hear. I have ever found you so faithfull, honest, and upright men, as I have even resolved with my selfe (God assisting me) to doe you all y^e good lyeth in my power; and therfore if you please to make choyse of so weak a man, both for abillities and body, to performe your bussines, I promise (y^e Lord enabling me) to doe y^e best I can according to those abillities he hath given me; and wherin I faile, blame your selves, y^t you made no better choyce. Now, because I am sickly, and we are all mortall, I have advised M^r. Allerton to joyne M^r. Beachamp with me in your deputation, which I conceive to be very necessary & good for you; your charge shall be no more, for it is not your salarie maks me undertake your [156*] bussines. Thus comending you & yours, and all Gods people, unto y^e guidance and protection of y^e Almightye, I ever rest,

Your faithfull loving freind,

London, Nov. 17. 1628.

JAMES SHERLEY.†

* 155 omitted in original MS. — ED.

† Another leter of his, that should have bene placed before: —

We cannot but take notice how y^e

Lord hath been pleased to crosse our proceedings, and caused many disasters to befall us therin. I conceive y^e only reason to be, we, or many of us, aimed

With this leter they sent a draught of a formall depuration to be hear sealed and sent back unto them, to authorise them as their agents, according to what is mentioned in y^e above said letter; and because some inconvenience grue therby afterward I shall here inserte it.

To all to whom these prëts shall come greeting; know yee that we, William Bradford, Gov^r of Plimoth, in N. E. in Amer-

at other ends then Gods glorie; but now I hope y^t cause is taken away; the bargaen being fully concluded, as farr as our powers will reach, and confirmed under our hands & seals, to Mr. Allerton & y^e rest of his & your copartners. But for my owne parte, I confess as I was loath to hinder y^e full confirming of it, being y^e first propounder ther of at our meeting; so on y^e other side, I was as unwilling to set my hand to y^e sale, being y^e receiver of most part of y^e adventurs, and a second causer of much of y^e ingagments; and one more threatened, being most envied & aimed at (if they could find any stepe to ground their malice on) then any other whosoever. I profess I know no just cause they ever had, or have, so to doe; neither shall it ever be proved y^t I have wronged them or any of y^e adventurers, wittingly or willingly, one peny in y^e disbursing of so many pounds in those 2. years trouble. No, y^e sole cause why they maligne me (as I & others conceived) was y^t I would not side with them against you, & the going over of y^e Leyden people. But as I then card not, so now I litle fear what they can doe; yet charge & trouble I know they may cause me to be at. And for these reasons, I would gladly have perswaded the other 4. to have sealed to this bargaen, and left me out, but they would not; so rather then it should faile, Mr. Allerton having taken so much pains, I have sealed wth y^e rest; with this proviso & promise of his, y^t if any trouble arise hear, you are to bear halfe y^e charge. Wherefore now I doubt not but you will give your generalltie good contente, and settle peace amongst your selves, and peace with the natives; and then no doubt but y^e God of Peace will blesse your going out & your returning, and cause all y^t you sett your hands unto to prosper; the which I shall ever pray y^e Lord to grante if it be his

blessed will. Asuredly unless y^e Lord be mercifull unto us & y^e whole land in generall, our estate & condition is farr worse then yours. Wherefore if y^e Lord should send persecution or trouble hear, (which is much to be feared,) and so should put into our minds to flye for refuge. I know no place safer then to come to you, (for all Europ is at variance one with another, but chiefly wth us,) not doubting but to find such friendly entertainment as shall be honest & conscionable, notwithstanding what hath latly passed. For I profess in y^e word of an honest man, had it not been to procure your peace & quiet from some turbulent spirities hear, I would not have sealed to this last deed; though you would have given me all my adventure and debte ready downe. Thus desiring y^e Lord to blesse & prosper you, I cease ever resting,

Your faithfull & loving freind,
to my power,
JAMES SHERLEY.

Des: 27.

[The above letter was written on the reverse of page 154 of the original manuscript. It is addressed to Governor Bradford, and may have been brought over by Allerton, on his return in the spring of 1627, after he had agreed with the adventurers for the purchase of all their interest in the partnership with the planters, to which the letter has reference. By comparing this copy of the letter with that preserved in Bradford's Letter-Book, it will be seen that the author has omitted a few passages and abbreviated others, which is the case with other letters here cited, and sometimes to a much greater extent. It there bears date 1627; but is not its true date 1626? Sherley acknowledges at the commencement "your letter of the 14th June last, by your and my loving friend, Mr. Allerton." — Ed.]

ica, Isaak Allerton, Myles Standish, William Brewster, & Ed: Winslow, of Plimoth aforesaid, marchants, doe by these presents for us & in our names, make, substitute, & appointe James Sherley, Goldsmith, & John Beachamp, Salter, citizens of London, our true & lawfull agents, factors, substitutes, & assignes; as well to take and receive all such goods, wares, & marchandise what soever as to our said substitutes or either of them, or to y^e citie of London, or other place of y^e Relme of Engl: shall be sente, transported, or come from us or any of us, as allso to vend, sell, barter, or exchaing y^e said goods, wares, and marchandise so from time to time to be sente to such person or persons upon credite, or other wise in such maner as to our said agents & factors joyently, or to either of them severally shall seeme meete. And further we doe make & ordaine our said substituts & assignes joyntly & severally for us, & to our uses, & accounts, to buy and consigne for and to us into New-Engl: aforesaid, such goods and marchandise to be provided here, and to be returned hence, as by our said assignes, or either of them, shall be thought fitt. And to recover, receive, and demand for us & in our names all such debtes & sumes of money, as now are or hereafter shall be due incidente accruing or belonging to us, or any of us, by any wayes or means; and to acquite, discharge, or compound for any debte or sume of money, which now or hereafter shall be due or oweing by any person or persons to us, or any of us. And generally for us & in our names to doe, performe, and execute every acte & thing which to our said assignes, or either of them, shall seeme meete to be done in or aboute y^e premissies, as fully & effectually, to all intents & purposes, as if we or any of us were in person presente. And whatsoever our said agents & factors joyntly or severally shall doe, or cause to be done, in or aboute y^e premisses, we will & doe, & every of us doth ratife, alow, & confirme, by these presents. In wittnes wherof we have here unto put our hands & seals. Dated 18. Nov^{br} 1628.*

This was accordingly confirmed by the above named, and 4. more of the cheefe of them under their hands & seals, and delivered unto them. Also M^r. Allerton formerly had authoritie under their hands & seals for y^e transacting of y^e former bussines, and taking up of moneys,† &c.

* 1627? — Ed.

† See page 210. — Ed.

which still he retained whilst he was employed in these affaires; they mistrusting neither him nor any of their freinds faithfullnes, which made them more remisse in looking to shuch acts as had passed under their hands, as necessarie for y^e time; but letting them rune on to long unminded or recaled, it turned to their harme afterwards, as will appere in its place.

[157] M^r. Allerton having settled all things thus in a good and hopfull way, he made hast to returne in y^e first of y^e spring to be hear with their supply for trade, (for y^e fishermen with whom he came used to sett forth in winter & be here betimes.) He brought a résonable supply of goods for y^e plantation, and without those great interests as before is noted; and brought an accounte of y^e beaver sould, and how y^e money was disposed for goods, & y^e paymente of other debtes, having paid all debts abroad to others, save to M^r. Sherley, M^r. Beachamp, & M^r. Andrews; from whom likewise he brought an accounte which to them all amounted not to above 400^{li}. for which he had passed bonds. Allso he had payed the first paymente for y^e purchass, being due for this year, viz. 200^{li}. and brought them y^e bonde for y^e same cancelled; so as they now had no more foreine debtes but y^e abovesaid 400^{li}. and odde pownds, and y^e rest of y^e yearly purchass monie. Some other debtes they had in y^e cuntrie, but they were without any intrest, & they had wherwith to discharge them when they were due. To this pass the Lord had brought things for them. Also he brought them further notice that their freinds, the abovenamed, & some others that would joyne with them in y^e trad & purchass, did intend for to send over to Leyden, for a competente number of them, to be hear the next year without fayle, if y^e Lord pleased to blesse their journey. He allso brought them a patente for Kenebeck, but it was so strait & ill bounded, as they were faine to renew & inlarge it the next year, as allso that which they had at home, to

their great charge, as will after appeare. Hithertoo Mr. Allerton did them good and faithfull service; and well had it been if he had so continued, or els they had now ceased for imploying him any longer thus into England. But of this more afterwards.

Having procured a patente (as is above said) for Kenebeck, they now erected a house up above in y^e river in y^e most convenientest place* for trade, as they conceived, and furnished the same with comodities for y^e end, both winter & sōmer, not only with corne, but also with such other commodities as y^e fishermen had traded with them, as coats, shirts, ruggs, & blankets, biskett, pease, prunes, &c.; and what they could not have out of England, they bought of the fishing ships, and so carried on their bussines as well as they could.

This year† the Dutch sent againe unto them from their plantation, both kind leterss, and also diverse comodities,

* At a place called Cushenoc or Koussinoc, now Augusta. See Russell's Pilgrim Memorials, ed. 1855, p. 197; Williamson's Maine, I. 253. — Ed.

† It is evident from Bradford's Letter-Book that this further correspondence with the Dutch, and the visit of De Rasieres to Plymouth, took place in the year 1627. To the Governor's letter of March 19th, on pp. 224, 225, the Dutch replied, under date August 7th, 1627, "very friendly, but maintaining their right and liberty to trade in those parts, which we had desired they would forbear," alleging authority from the States of Holland. Bradford rejoined, under date of August 14th, expressing a desire for an "opportunity (according as you write) by word of mouth, to confer together touching our mutual commerce and trading in such things as our countries afford," warning them, however, of their danger, if they should fall into "the hands of those of Virginia, or the fishing ships which come to New England." De Rasieres' visit was in October of this year. Proceeding up Buzzard's Bay and the Manomet River to Manomet, in the bark Nassau, he there

addressed a letter to Governor Bradford, dated October 4th, desiring him to afford "the easiest means, that I may with least weariness come to congratulate with you." It appears that he remained some few days at Plymouth, and on his departure Governor Bradford sent a letter to Minuit, dated October 1, 1627, in which, among other things, he advises the Dutch to clear the title of their planting in these parts. After this there was frequent intercourse between the two colonies. It should be borne in mind that these letters from the Dutch are dated according to the New Style, while those of the English are expressed in Old Style.

Governor Bradford describes De Rasieres as "their upper *commis* or chief merchant, and second to the Governor, a man of fair and genteel behavior; but he soon after fell into disgrace amongst them, by reason of their factions." After his visit to Plymouth he wrote an interesting description of the place, an extract from which is given on page 126. See further in Brodhead's New York, pp. 176-180; 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 53-57. — Ed.

as suger, linen cloth, Holand finer & courser stufes, &c. They came up with their barke to Manamete, to their house ther, in which came their Secretarie Rasier; who was accompanied with a noyse of trumpeters, and some other attendants; and desired that they would send a boat for him, for he could not travill so farr over land. So they sent a boat to Manonscussett,* and brought him to y^e plantation, with y^e cheefe of his company. And after some few days entertainente, he returned to his barke, and some of them wente with him, and bought sundry of his goods; after which begining thus made, they sente often times to y^e same place, and had entercourse togeather for diverce years; and amongst other comodities, they vended much [158] tobacco for linen cloath, stuffs, &c., which was a good benefite to y^e people, till the Virginians found out their plantation. But that which turned most to their profite, in time, was an entrance into the trade of Wampampeake; for they now bought aboute 50^{li}. worth of it of them; and they tould them how vendable it was at their forte Orania;† and did perswade them they would find it so at Kenebeck; and so it came to pass in time, though at first it stuck, & it was 2. years before they could put of this small quantity, till y^e inland people knew of it; and afterwards they could scarce ever gett enough for them, for many years togeather. And so this, with their other provissions, cutt of they trade quite from y^e fisher-men, and in great part from other of y^e stragling planters. And strange it was to see the great allteration it made in a few years amonge y^e Indeans them selves: for all the Indeans of these parts, & y^e Massachussets, had none or very litle of it,‡ but y^e sachems & some spetiall persons that wore a litle of it for ornamente. Only it was

* Now called "Scussett," in Sandwich, on the north side of Cape Cod. — Ed.

† Fort Orange, now Albany. The English usually spelled this word as

the Dutch pronounced it, "Fort Auranen." See Brodhead's New York, pp. 152, 583. — Ed.

‡ Peag.

made & kepte amonge y^e Nariganssets, & Pequents, which grew rich & potent by it, and these people were poore & begerly, and had no use of it. Neither did the English of this plantation, or any other in y^e land, till now that they had knowledg of it from y^e Dutch, so much as know what it was, much less y^t it was a comōditie of that worth & valew. But after it grue thus to be a comoditie in these parts, these Indeans fell into it allso, and to learne how to make it; for y^e Nariganssets doe geather y^e shells of which y^{ey} make it from their shors. And it hath now continued a current comoditie aboute this 20. years, and it may prove a drugg in time. In y^e mean time it maks y^e Indeans of these parts rich & power full and also prowld therby; and fills them with peeces, powder, and shote, which no laws can restraine, by reasone of y^e bassnes of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch, & French, which may turne to y^e ruine of many. Hithertoo y^e Indeans of these parts had no peeces nor other armes but their bowes & arrowes, nor of many years after; nether durst they scarce handle a gune, so much were they affraid of them; and y^e very sight of one (though out of kilter) was a terrour unto them. But those Indeans to y^e east parts, which had comēce with y^e French, got peces of them, and they in y^e end made a commone trade of it; and in time our English fisher-men, led with y^e like covetoussnes, followed their exāple, for their owne gaine; but upon complainte against them, it pleased the kings majestie to prohibite y^e same by a stricte proclamation,* commanding that no sorte of armes, or munition, should by any of his subjects be traded with them.

Aboute some 3. or 4. years before this time, ther came over one Captaine Wolastone,† (a man of pretie parts,)

* "A proclamation prohibiting interloping and disorderly trading to New England in America" was issued by King James, November 6th, 1622, and

may be seen in Rymer's *Fædera*, XVII. 416, and in Hazard, I. 151, 152. — Ed.
† Morton (Memorial, p. 68) says he came over in 1625. — Ed.

and with him 3. or 4. more of some eminencie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provisions & other implments for to begine a plantation; and pitched them selves in a place within the Massachusets, which they called, after their Captains name, Mount-Wollaston.* Amongst whom was one M^r. Morton,† who, it should seeme, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them; but had litle respecte [159] amongst them, and was sleighted by y^e meanest servants. Haveing continued ther some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profite to arise as they looked for, Captaine Wollaston takes a great part of y^e sarvants, and transports them to Virginia, wher he puts them of at good rates, selling their time to other men; and writs back to one M^r. Rassdall, one of his cheefe partners, and accounted their marchant, to bring another parte of them to Verginia likewise, intending to put them of ther as he had done y^e rest. And he, wth y^e consente of y^e said Rasdall, appoynted one Fitcher to be his Live-tenante, and governe y^e remaines of y^e plantation, till he or Rasdall returned to take further order therabout. But this Morton abovesaid, haveing more craft then honestie, (who had been a kind of petie-fogger, of Furnefells Inne,) in y^e others absence, watches an oppertunitie, (commons being but hard amongst them,) and gott some strong drinck & other junkats, & made them a feast; and after they were merie, he begane to tell them, he would give them good counsell. You see (saith he) that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia; and if you stay till this

* Within the present town of Quincy.
— Ed.

† Thomas Morton says: "In the month of June, Anno Salutis 1622, it was my good chance to arrive in the parts of New England, with 30 servants, and provisions of all sorts fit for a plantation; and whiles our houses were building I did endeavor to take a survey of the country," &c. Morton and his

servants may have been of Weston's company, and have come over with the chief of those in the Charity, which arrived in June or July of 1622. Our information, however, on this point, is by no means satisfactory, and no further light is shed here by his curious book. Governor Bradford mentions his name at this place for the first time. See New English Canaan, pp. 17, 59. — Ed.

Rasdall returne, you will also be carried away and sould for slaves with y^e rest. Therfore I would advise you to thruste out this Levetenant Fitcher; and I, having a parte in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociats; so may you be free from service, and we will converse, trad, plante, & live togeather as equalls, & supporte & protecte one another, or to like effecte. This counsell was easily received; so they tooke oppertunitie, and thrust Levetenante Fitcher out a dores, and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forct him to seeke bread to eate, and other releefe from his neighbours, till he could gett passages for England. After this they fell to great licenciousnes, and led a dissolute life, powering out them selves into all profanenes. And Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a schoole of Athisme. And after they had gott some good into their hands, and gott much by trading with y^e Indeans, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing & drinking both wine & strong waters in great exsess, and, as some reported, 10^{lis}. worth in a morning. They allso set up a May-pole, drinking and dancing aboute it many days togeather, inviting the Indean women, for their consorts, dancing and frisking together, (like so many fairies, or furies rather,) and worse practises. As if they had anew revived & celebrated the feasts of y^e Roman Goddes Flora, or y^e beasly practises of y^e madd Bacchinalians. Morton likewise (to shew his poetrie) composed sundry rimes & verses,* some tending to lasciviousnes, and others to y^e detraction & scandall of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idoll May-polle. They chainged allso the name of their place, and in stead of calling it Mounte Wollaston, they call it Merie-mounte, [160] as if this joylity would have lasted ever. But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England, (as follows

* Some of which are printed in his New English Canaan. — Ed.

to be declared,) shortly after came over that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Indecott, who brought over a patent under y^e broad seall,* for y^e govermente of y^e Massachusetts, who visiting those parts caused y^e May-polle to be cutt downe, and rebuked them for their profannes, and admonished them to looke ther should be better walking; so they now, or others, changed y^e name of their place againe, and called it Mounte-Dagon.

Now to maintaine this riotous prodigallitie and profuse excess, Morton, thinking him selfe lawless, and hearing what gaine y^e French & fisher-men made by trading of peecees, powder, & shotte to y^e Indeans, he, as y^e head of this consortship, begane y^e practise of y^e same in these parts; and first he taught them how to use them, to charge, & discharg, and what proportion of powder to give y^e peece, according to y^e sise or bignes of y^e same; and what shotte to use for foule, and what for deare. And having thus instructed them, he imployed some of them to hunte & fowle for him, so as they became farr more active in that imploymente then any of y^e English, by reason of ther swiftnes of foote, & nimblnes of body, being also quick-sighted, and by continuall exercise well knowing y^e hants of all sorts of game. So as when they saw y^e execution that a peece would doe, and y^e benefite that might come by y^e same, they became madd, as it were, after them, and would not stick to give any prise they could attaine too for them; accounting their bowes & arrowes but bables in comparison of them.

And here I may take occasion to bewaile y^e mischefe that this wicked man began in these parts, and which since base covetousnes prevailing in men that should

* This is not correctly stated. Endicott did not bring over the patent under the broad seal. He was sent out soon after the patent was procured from the Council for New England, (arriving here in September, 1628,) and before

the royal charter of 4th March, 1628-9, was granted. Subsequently a duplicate or exemplification of the charter was sent to him. See Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 13, 142. — Ed.

know better, has now at length gott y^e upper hand, and made this thing comōne, notwithstanding any laws to y^e contrary ; so as y^e Indeans are full of peecees all over, both fouling peecees, muskets, pistols, &c. They have also their moulds to make shotte, of all sorts, as muskett bullets, pistoll bullets, swane & gose shote, & of smaler sorts ; yea, some have seen them have their scruplats to make scrupins them selves, when they wante them, with sundery other implements, wherwith they are ordinarily better fitted & furnished then y^e English them selves. Yea, it is well knowne that they will have powder & shot, when the English want it, nor cannot gett it ; and y^t in a time of warr or danger, as experience hath manifested, that when lead hath been scarce, and men for their owne defence would gladly have given a groat a ti., which is dear enoughe, yet hath it bene bought up & sent to other places, and sould to shuch as trade it with y^e Indeans, at 12. pence y^e ti. ; and it is like they give 3. or 4.^s y^e pound, for they will have it at any rate. And these things have been done in y^e same times, when some of their neighbours & freinds are daly killed by y^e Indeans, or are in deanger therof, and live but at y^e Indeans mercie. [161] Yea, some (as they have aquainted them with all other things) have tould them how gunpowder is made, and all y^e materialls in it, and that they are to be had in their owne land ; and I am confidente, could they attaine to make saltpeter, they would teach them to make powder. O the horiblnes of this vilanie ! how many both Dutch & English have been latly slaine by those Indeans, thus furnished ; and no remedie provided, nay, y^e evill more increased, and y^e blood of their brethren sould for gaine, as is to be feared ; and in what danger all these colonies are in is too well known. Oh ! that princes & parlements would take some timly order to prevente this mischeefe, and at length to suppress it, by some exemplerie punishmente upon some of these gaine thirstie murderers, (for

they deserve no better title,) before their collonies in these parts be over throwne by these barbarous savages, thus armed with their owne weapons, by these evill instruments, and traytors to their neighbors and cuntrie. But I have forgott my selfe, and have been to longe in this digression ; but now to returne. This Morton having thus taught them y^e use of peeces, he sould them all he could spare ; and he and his consorts detirmined to send for many out of England, and had by some of y^e ships sente for above a score. The which being knowne, and his neigbours meeting y^e Indeans in y^e woods armed with guns in this sorte, it was a terroure unto them, who lived straglingly, and were of no strenght in any place. And other places (though more remote) saw this mischeefe would quickly spread over all, if not prevented. Besides, they saw they should keep no servants, for Morton would entertaine any, how vile soever, and all y^e scume of y^e countrie, or any discontents, would flock to him from all places, if this nest was not broken ; and they should stand in more fear of their lives & goods (in short time) from this wicked & deboste * crue, then from y^e salvages them selves.

So sundrie of y^e cheefe of y^e stragling plantations, meeting together, agreed by mutuall consente to sollissite those of Plimoth (who were then of more strength then them all) to joyne with them, to prevente y^e further growth of this mischeefe, and suppress Morton & his consortes before y^e grewe to further head and strength. Those that joyned in this accion (and after contributed to y^e charge †

* *Deboist*, debauched, corrupted.—Ed.

† In Bradford's Letter-Book the sums contributed for this purpose are given as follows :—

	£.	s.
From Plymouth, . . .	2	10
“ Naumkeak, . . .	1	10
“ Pascataquack, . . .	2	10

	From Mr. Jeffrey and Mr.	£.	s.
	Burslem, . . .	2	0
“	Natascot, . . .	1	10
“	Mrs. Thomson, . . .		15
“	Mr. Blackston, . . .		12
“	Edward Hilton, . . .	1	0
		12	7
		—Ed.	

of sending him for England) were from Pascataway, Namkeake, Winisimett, Weesagascusett, Natasco, and other places wher any English were seated. Those of Plimoth being thus sought too by their messengers & letters, and waying both their reasons, and the comone danger, were willing to afford them their help; though them selves had least cause of fear or hurte. So, to be short, they first resolved joyntly to write to him, and in a freindly & neighborly way to admonish him to forbear these courses, & sent a messenger with their letters to bring his answer. But he was so highe as he scorned all advise, and asked who had to doe with him; he had and would trade peeces with y^e Indeans in despite of all, with many other scurrilous termes full of disdaine. They sente to him a second time, and bad him be better advised, and more temperate in his termes, for y^e countrie could not beare y^e injure he did; it was against their comone saftie, and against y^e king's proclamation. He answerd in high terms as before, and that y^e kings proclamation was no law; demanding what penaltie was upon it. It was answered, more then he could [162] bear, his majesties displeasure. But insolently he persisted, and said y^e king was dead and his displeasure with him, & many y^e like things; and threatened withall that if any came to molest him, let them looke to them selves, for he would prepare for them. Upon which they saw ther was no way but to take him by force; and having so farr proceeded, now to give over would make him farr more hautie & insolente. So they mutually resolved to proceed, and obtained of y^e Gov^r of Plimoth to send Captaine Standish, & some other aide with him, to take Morton by force. The which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stifly in his defence, having made fast his dors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder & bullets ready on y^e table; and if they had not been over armed with drinke, more hurt might have been done. They somaned him to yeeld, but

he kept his house, and they could gett nothing but scofes & scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would doe some violence to y^e house, he and some of his crue came out, but not to yeeld, but to shoote; but they were so steeld with drinke as their peeces were to heavie for them; him selfe with a carbine (over charged & allmost halfe fild with powder & shote, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captaine Standish; but he stept to him, & put by his peece, & tooke him. Neither was ther any hurte done to any of either side, save y^t one was so drunke y^t he rane his owne nose upon y^e pointe of a sword y^t one held before him as he entred y^e house; but he lost but a litle of his hott blood. Morton they brought away to Plimoth, wher he was kepte, till a ship went from y^e Ile of Shols for England, with which he was sente to y^e Counsell of New-England; and letters* written to give them information of his course & cariage; and also one was sent at

* These letters may be seen in Bradford's Letter-Book, dated June 9th, 1628. One is addressed to his Majesty's Council for New England, and one to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. They were subscribed by "the chief of every plantation." The bearer of the letters was John Oldham, in whose charge the prisoner was sent to England. The arrest of Morton here narrated took place some months before the arrival of Endicott, who afterwards visited Merry-Mount, and cut down the May-pole, as related on page 238.

Morton, in his New English Canaan, gives a comical but incoherent account of his capture. He describes it as in the month of June. He says that Captain Standish (whom he nicknames "Captain Shrimp") and his party, taking advantage of the absence of his company, set upon him at Wessagus-cus, where by accident they found him, and took him prisoner. They set a guard of six persons over him; but in the dead of night he escaped and fled to Merry-Mount, whither he was afterward pursued by Standish and eight others, to whom he capitulated, — hav-

ing but two persons with him, — on condition that no violence should be offered to him or his goods; but that he should have his arms, and whatever else was requisite for his voyage to England. These terms, he says, were not kept, and he complains of rough usage after his surrender. He was taken to Plymouth, a council held upon him, and he was sentenced to be sent prisoner to England. "But when he was brought to the ships for that purpose, no man durst be so foolhardy as to undertake to carry him." He was then, in a state of destitution, set upon an island, where he stayed a month at least, and thence he set sail for England "of his own accord," landing at Plymouth. "He stayed in England until the ordinary time for shipping to set forth for these parts, and then returned. . . . put in at Plymouth in the very faces of them, to their terrible amazement to see him at liberty, and told him he had not yet answered the matter they could object against him." See New English Canaan, pp. 138 — 150, 155, 157. — Ed.

their com̄one charge to informe their Ho^{rs} more perticulerly, & to prosecute against him. But he foold of y^e messenger, after he was gone from hence, and though he wente for England, yet nothing was done to him, not so much as rebukte, for ought was heard; but returned y^e nexte year.* Some of y^e worst of y^e company were disperst, and some of y^e more modest kepte y^e house till he should be heard from. But I have been too long aboute so unworthy a person, and bad a cause.

This year M^r. Allerton brought over a yonge man for a minister to y^e people hear, wheather upon his owne head, or at y^e motion of some freinds ther, I well know not, but it was without y^e churches sending; for they had bene so bitten by M^r. Lyford, as they desired to know y^e person well whom they should invite amongst them. His name was M^r. Rogers; but they perceived, upon some triall, that he was crased in his braine; so they were faine to be at further charge to send him back againe y^e nexte year, and loose all y^e charge that was expended in his hither bringing, which was not smalle by M^r. Allerton's accounte, in provissions, aparell, bedding, &c. After his returne he grue quite distracted, and M^r. Allerton was much blamed y^t he would bring such a man over, they having charge enough otherwise.

M^r. Allerton, in y^e years before, had brought over some small quantie of goods, upon his owne perticuler, and sould them for his owne private benefite; which was more then any man had yet hithertoo attempted. But because he had other wise done them good service, and also he sould them among y^e people at y^e plantation, by which their wants were supplied, and he aledged it was the [163] love of M^r. Sherley and some other freinds that would needs trust him with some goods, conceiving it might doe him some good, and none hurte, it was not much lookt at, but

* He was brought over by Mr. Allerton account of him, under the following year. — Ed.
ton, as will be narrated, with a further

past over. But this year he brought over a greater quantity, and they were so intermixte with y^e goods of y^e generall, as they knew not which were theirs, & w^{ch} was his, being pact up together; so as they well saw that, if any casualty had beefalne at sea, he might have laid y^e whole on them, if he would; for ther was no distinction. Also what was most vendible, and would yeeld presente pay, usually that was his; and he now begane also to sell abroad to others of forine places, which, considering their comone course, they began to dislike. Yet because love thinkes no evill, nor is susspitious, they tooke his faire words for excuse, and resolved to send him againe this year for England; considering how well he had done y^e former bussines, and what good acceptance he had with their freinds ther; as also seeing sundry of their freinds from Leyden were sente for, which would or might be much furthered by his means. Againe, seeing the patente for Kenebeck must be enlarged, by reason of y^e former mistaks in the bounding of it, and it was conceived, in a maner, y^e same charge would serve to enlarge this at home with it, and he that had begane y^e former y^e last year would be y^e fittest to effecte this; so they gave him instructions and sente him for England this year againe. And in his instructions bound him to bring over no goods on their accounte, but 50^{li}. in hose & shoes, and some linen cloth, (as y^{ey} were bound by covenante when they tooke y^e trad;) also some trading goods to such a value; and in no case to exseed his instructions, nor rune them into any further charge; he well knowing how their state stood. Also y^t he should so provide y^t their trading goods came over betimes, and what so ever was sent on their accounte should be pact up by it selfe, marked with their marke, and no other goods to be mixed with theirs. For so he prayed them to give him such instructions as they saw good, and he would folow them, to prevente any jellocie or farther offence, upon the former forementioned dis-

likes. And thus they conceived they had well provided for all things.*

Anno Dom: 1629.

Mr. ALLERTON safely arriving in England, and delivering his letters to their friends there, and acquainting them with his instructions, found good acceptance with them, and they were very forward & willing to joine with them in y^e partnership of trade, & in y^e charge to send over y^e Leyden people; a company wherof were already come out of Holand, and prepared to come over, and so were sent away before Mr. Allerton could be ready to come. They had passage with y^e ships that came to Salem, that brought over many godly persons to begin y^e plantations & churches of Christ there, & in y^e Bay of Massachusetts; so their long stay & keeping back [164] was recompensed by y^e Lord to their friends here with a double blessing, in that they not only enjoyed them now beyond their late expectation, (when all their hopes seemed to be cutt off,) but, with them, many more godly friends & Christian brethren, as y^e beginning of a larger harvest unto y^e Lord, in y^e increase of his churches & people in these parts, to y^e admiration of many, and almost wonder of y^e world; that of so small beginnings so great things should insue, as time after manifested; and that here should be a resting place for so many of y^e Lord's people, when so sharp a scourge came upon their own nation. But it was y^e Lord's doing, & it ought to be marvellous in our eyes.

But I shall here insert some of their friends' letters, which do best expresse their own minds in these their proceedings.

* Morton records under this year the death of Mr. Richard Warren, who "was a useful instrument, and during his life bore a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of the first settle-

ment of the plantation of New Plymouth." For notice of his family, see List of Passengers in the Mayflower, in the Appendix; also Russell's Guide to Plymouth, p. 249. — Ed.

A letter of Mr. Sherleys to y^e Gov^r.

May 25, 1629.*

S^r: &c. Here are now many of your and our freinds from Leyden coming over, who, though for y^e most parte be but a weak company, yet herein is a good parte of that end obtained which was aimed at, and which hath been so strongly opposed by some of our former adventurers. But God hath his working in these things, which man cannot frustrate. With them we have allso sent some servants in y^e ship called the Talbut, that wente hence latly; but these come in y^e May-flower.† Mr. Beachamp & my selfe, with Mr. Andrews & Mr. Hatherly, are, with your love and liking, joynd partners with you, &c.

‡ Your deputation we have received, and y^e goods have been taken up & sould by your freind & agente, Mr. Allerton, my selfe having bine nere 3. months in Holland, at Amsterdam & other parts in y^e Low-Countries. I see further the agremente you have made with y^e generallitie, in which I cannot understand but you have done very well, both for them & you, and also for your freinds at Leyden. Mr. Beachamp, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Hatherley, & my selfe, doe so like and approve of it, as we are willing to joyne with you, and, God directing and inabling us, will be assisting and helpfull to you, y^e best y^t possiblie we can. Nay, had you not taken this course, I doe not see how you should accomplish y^e end you first aimed at, and some others indeavored these years past. We know it must keep us from y^e profite, which otherwise by y^e blessing of God and your indeaours, might be gained; for most of those that came in May, & these now sente, though I hope honest & good people, yet not like to be helpfull to raise profite, but rather, ney, certaine must, some while, be chargable to you & us; at which it is lickly, had not this wise & discreete course been taken, many of your generalitie would have grudged. Againe, you say well in your letter, and I make no doubte but you will performe it, that now being but a few, on whom y^e burthen must be, you will both menage it y^e beter, and sett too it more cherfully, having no

* 1629, May 25, the first letter concerning the former company of Leyden people. — *Prince*.

See this letter in full in Bradford's Letter-Book. — *Ed*.

† William Peirce master. See Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 175. — *Ed*.

‡ 2. letter.

discontente nor contradiction, but so lovingly to joyne together, in affection and counsell, as God no doubt will blesse and prosper your honest labours & indeavors. And therefore in all respects I doe not see but you have done marvelously discretely, & advisedly, and no doubt but it gives all parties good contente; I mean y^t are reasonable & honest men, such as make conscience of giving y^e best satisfaction they be able for their debts, and y^t regard not their owne perticuler so much as y^e accomplishing of y^t good end for which this bussines was first intended, &c. Thus desiring y^e Lord to blesse & prosper you, & all yours, and all our honest endeavors, I rest

Your unfained & ever loving freind,

JAMES SHERLEY.

Lon: March 8. 1629.*

That I may handle things together, I have put these 2. companies that came from Leyden in this place; though they came at 2. severall times, yet they both came out of England this year. The former company, being 35. persons,† were shiped in May, and arived here aboute Au-

* 1629-30, March 8th, the second letter concerning the latter company of Leyden people. — *Prince*.

See this letter in full in Bradford's Letter-Book. Mrs. Robinson, the widow of the Rev. John Robinson, undoubtedly came over with this latter company of Leyden people, with her son Isaac, and perhaps with another son. *Prince* says: "Isaac came over to Plymouth Colony, lived to above ninety years of age, a venerable man, whom I have often seen, and has left male posterity in the County of Barnstable." He was at Scituate in 1636, and in 1639 removed to Barnstable. See *Prince*, I. 160; *Deane's Scituate*, p. 332.

There was an Abraham Robinson early at Gloucester, who, according to the records there, deceased 23d February, 1645. He had a son Abraham living in 1730, who is said to have reached the age of a hundred and two years. This centenarian had a family of twelve children, among whom was Andrew, somewhat distinguished, one of whose daughters was a grandmother of Mrs. Webber, wife of President

Webber of Harvard College. A traditionary account of the family is preserved, written by Mrs. Webber, according to which the first Abraham, above named, was a son of John of Leyden, and brother of Isaac. Farmer probably derived his information from this source, (as Professor James F. Dana, whom he cites, was a descendant of Abraham Robinson, and his wife was a daughter of President Webber,) but he erroneously substitutes the name of John for Abraham. The traditionary evidence here adduced is considered of a respectable character. "It is very remarkable that Mrs. Robinson should have fallen into such complete obscurity after her arrival in New England. She may have come to Gloucester with her son, and lived and died with the little band who were here a few years before the incorporation of the town; or she may have gone to Salem, where, I believe, was a Mrs. Robinson early." *Manuscript letters of Mr. John J. Robinson, of Gloucester, Mass.* — Ed.

† *Prince* (I. 192) adds, "with their families," for which there is no au-

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gust.* The later were shipped in y^e beginning of March,† and arrived here y^e later end of May, 1630. Mr. Sherleys 2. letters, y^e effect wherof I have before related, (as much of them as is pertinent,) mentions both. Their charge, as Mr. Allerton brought it in afterwards on accounte, came to above 550^{li}.‡ besides ther fetching hither from Salem & y^e Bay, wher they and their goods were landed; viz. their transportation from Holland to England, & their charges lying ther, and passages hither, with clothing provided for them. For I find by accounte for y^e one company, § 125. yeards of karsey, 127. ellons of linen cloath, shoes, 66. p^r, with many other perticulers. The charge of y^e other company is reckoned on y^e severall families, some 50^{li}., some 40^{li}., some 30^{li}., and so more or less, as their number & expencess were. And besides all this charg, their freinds & bretheren here were to provid corne & other provissions for them, till they could reap a crope which was long before. Those that came in May|| were thus maintained upward of 16. or 18. months, before they had any harvest

thority here. Bradford states also in his Letter-Book: "These persons were in all thirty-five." — Ed.

* That is, in May and August, 1629, as by Mr. Sherley's letter of May 25th, 1629. — Prince.

† 1629-30. These came in the Lyon, Captain William Peirce, from Bristol. See Prince, I. 207; Savage's Winthrop, I. 25, 29, where also is a notice of Captain Peirce, by the learned editor. — Ed.

‡ Prince (I. 201) appears to err in saying, "The charge of *this last company* comes to above 550^{li}." — Ed.

§ The former company of *thirty-five* persons. See Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

|| In the postscript to the last letter cited from Sherley, he makes complaint of some of this latter company of Leyden people, warning the Governor against believing what some may report of Mr. Allerton. "I know some of them are apt to speak ill of him: believe them not. Indeed, they have been unreasonably chargeable, yet grudge, and are not contented. Verily their

indiscreet carriage here hath so abated my affection towards them, as, were Mrs. Robinson well over, I would not disburse one penny for the rest."

"This offence was given by some of them," writes Governor Bradford, "which redounded to the prejudice of the whole; and indeed our friends which sent this latter company were to blame, for they now sent all the weakest and poorest, without any of note and better discretion and government amongst them, contrary to our minds and advice; for they thought, if these were got over, the other might come when they would. But partly this distaste, but especially the great charge which both these companies came to, coming so near together, put a bar in the way; for though this company were the fewer in number, yet their charge came to an 100^{li}. more. And notwithstanding this indiscretion, yet they were such as feared God, and were thus both welcome and useful, for the most part." Bradford's Letter-Book, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 69, 70. — Ed.

of their owne, & y^e other by proportion. And all they could doe in y^e mean time was to gett them some housing, and prepare them grounds to plant on, against the season. And this charg of maintaining them all this while was litle less then y^e former sume. These things I note more perticulerly, for sundry regards. First, to shew a rare example herein of brotherly love, and Christian care in performing their promises and covenants to their bretheren, too, & in a sorte beyonde their power; that they should venture so desperatly to ingage them selves to accomplish this thing, and bear it so cheerfully; for they never demanded, much less had, any repaymente of all these great sumes thus disbursed. 2^{ly}. It must needs be that ther was more then of man in these acheevements. that should thus readily stire up y^e harts of shuch able frinds to joyne in partnership with them in shuch a case, and cleave so faithfullie to them as these did, in so great adventures; and the more because the most of them never saw their faces to this day; ther being neither kindred, aliance, or other acquaintance or relations betweene any of them, then hath been before mentioned; it must needs be therfore the spetiall worke and hand of God. 3^{ly}. That these poore people here in a wilderness should, notwithstanding, be inabled in time to repay all these ingagments, and many more unjustly brought upon them through the unfaithfullnes of some, and many other great losses which they sustained, which will be made manifest, if y^e Lord be pleased to give life and time. In y^e mean time, I cannot but admire his ways and workes towards his servants, and humbly desire to blesse his holy name for his great mercies hithertoo.

[166] The Leyden people being thus come over, and sundry of y^e generalitie seeing & hearing how great y^e charg was like to be that was that way to be expended. they begane to murmure and repine at it, notwithstanding y^e burden lay on other mens shoulders; espetially at y^e

paying of y^e 3. bushells of corne a year, according to y^e former agremente, when y^e trad was lett for y^e 6. years aforesaid. But to give them contente herein allso, it was promised them, that if they could doe it in y^e time without it, they would never demand it of them; which gave them good contente. And indeed it never was paid, as will appeare by y^e sequell.

Concerning M^r. Allertons proceedings about y^e enlarging & confirming of their patent, both y^e at home & Kenebeck, will best appere by another leter of M^r. Sherleys; for though much time & money was expended aboute it, yet he left it unaccomplisht this year, and came without it.* See M^r. Sherleys letter.

Most worthy & loving freinds, &c.†

Some of your letters I received in July, & some since by M^r. Peirce, but till our maine bussines, y^e patent, was granted, I could not settle my mind nor pen to writing. M^r. Allerton was so turrmoyle about it, as verily I would not nor could not have undergone it, if I might have had a thousand pounds; but y^e Lord so blessed his labours (even beyond expectation in these evill days) as he obtained y^e love & favore of great men in repute & place. He got granted from y^e Earle of Warwick‡ &

* From the date of the following letter and the narrative of proceedings which it details, it would seem that Governor Bradford here refers to Allerton's return in 1630 from the visit he may have made to England this year; and not to his return this year from his mission of 1628. It will be seen, further on, that he gave great offence by bringing over this year Thomas Morton, who had been sent prisoner to England the year before (1628). Bradford is silent as to the time of his return, but it appears that he was not prepared to come with the first company of Leyden people who left in May; though Morton, in his New English Canaan, speaks of his own return at "the ordinary time for shipping to set forth for these parts." If Bradford's chronology is here correctly apprehended, he makes no mention of Allerton's being sent over to

England again this year, but the following letter and other evidence sufficiently indicate that he was there. — Ed.

† By March 19, 1629, must be meant 1629-30; and so this letter is placed a year sooner than it should be. But I conclude that Governor Bradford does it, because, according to the old English way, he carries the year 1629 down to March 24th, inclusively of 1629-30. — Prince.

See other portions of this letter on the following pages. The whole is preserved in Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

‡ This grant from the Council for New England to the colony of New Plymouth was made to "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns." It is dated January 13th, 1629-30. The original parchment, bearing the seal of the Council and the signature of the Earl of Warwick, the President, is in

St. Ferdinando Gorge all that Mr. Winslow desired in his letters to me, & more also, which I leave to him to relate. Then he sued to y^e king to confirme their grante, and to make you a corporation, and so to inable you to make & execute lawes, in such large & ample maner as y^e Massachusetts plantation hath it; which y^e king graciously granted, referring it to y^e Lord Keeper to give order to y^e solisiter to draw it up, if ther were a presidente for it. So y^e Lord Keeper furthered it all he could, and allso y^e solissiter; but as Festus said to Paule, With no small sume of money obtained I this freedom; for by y^e way many ridells must be resolved, and many locks must be opened with y^e silver, ney, y^e golden key. Then it was to come to y^e Lord Treasurer, to have his warrente for freeing y^e custume for a certaine time; but he would not doe it, but resferd it to y^e Counsell table. And ther Mr. Allerton atended day by day, when they sate, but could not gett his* petition read. And by reason of Mr. Peirce his staying with all y^e passengers at Bristol, he was forct to leave y^e further prosecuting of it to a solisiter.† But ther is no fear nor doubte but it will be granted, for he hath y^e cheefe of them to freind; yet it will be marvelously needfull for him to returne by y^e first ship y^t comes from thence; for if you had this confirmed, then were you compleate, and might bear such sway & government as were fitt for your ranke & place y^t God hath called you unto; and stope y^e moueths of base and scurrulous fellowes, y^t are ready to question & threaten you in every action you [167] doe. And besides, if you have y^e custume free for 7. years inward, & 21. out-

the office of the Register of Deeds at Plymouth. It has been frequently printed. In this grant, the territorial limits of the colony are defined, which was not the case in the first patent. This includes also a conveyance of fifteen miles on each side of the Kennebeck River. A royal charter, so anxiously desired, so temptingly held out to them by Shirley, and for which so much money had been lavished, was never granted to the colony during its existence. The powers of government which they exercised were derived from no higher authority than that by which the compact on board the Mayflower was made, in 1620. See the patent in Plymouth Colony Laws, Brigham's ed.,

pp. 21-26; also Baylies's Hist. Plymouth Col., pp. 187, 225-229. — Ed.

* "Or rather Mr. Bradford's petition read." Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

† By this it seems that Mr. Allerton now comes with several Leyden people in Mr. Peirce; and accordingly Governor Winthrop says that when he arrived at Salem, on June 12, 1630, "we sent a skiff to Mr. Peirce his ship which lay in the harbor, and had been there [blank] days before. About an hour after, Mr. Allerton came aboard us in a shallop, as he was sailing to Penamquid." No doubt with Ashley. — *Prince*.

See Savage's Winthrop, I. 25. Prince cites the original manuscript of Governor Winthrop's History. — Ed.

ward, y^e charge of y^e patent will be soone recovered, and ther is no fear of obtaining* it. But such things must work by degrees; men cannot hasten it as they would; werefore we (I write in behalfe of all our partners here) desire you to be earnest with M^r. Allerton to come, and his wife to spare him this one year more, to finish this great & waighty bussines, which we conceive will be much for your good, & I hope for your posteritie, and for many generations to come.

Thus much of this letter. It was dated y^e 19. March, 1629.†

By which it appears what progress was made herein, & in part what charge it was, and how left unfinished, and some reason of y^e same; but in truth (as was afterwards apprehended) the meaine reason was M^r. Allerton's policie, to have an opportunitie to be sent over againe, for other regards; and for that end procured them thus to write. For it might then well enough have been finshed, if not with y^t clause aboute y^e custumes, which was M^r. Allertons & M^r. Sherleys device, and not at all thought on by y^e colony here, nor much regarded, yet it might have been done without it, without all queston, having passed y^e kings hand; nay it was conceived it might then have beene done with it, if he had pleased; but covetousnes never brings ought home, as y^e proverb is, for this oppertunitie being lost, it was never accomplished, but a great deale of money veinly & lavishly cast away aboute it, as doth appear upon their accounts. But of this more in its place.

M^r. Alerton gave them great and just ofence in this (which I had omited ‡ & almost forgotten), — in bringing over this year, for base gaine, that unworthy man, and instrumente of mischeefe, Morton, who was sent home but

* This word is here substituted for *recovering* in the manuscript, on the authority of Bradford's Letter-Book.—Ed.

† That is, March 19, 1629-30.—*Prince.*

‡ This paragraph is written on the reverse of the page immediately preceding, in the original manuscript.—Ed.

y^e year before for his misdemeanors. He not only brought him over, but to y^e towne (as it were to nose them), and lodged him at his owne house, and for a while used him as a scribe to doe his bussines, till he was caused to pack him away. So he wente to his old nest in y^e Massachusetts, wher it was not long but by his miscariage, he gave them just occation to lay hands on him; and he was by them againe sent prisoner into England, wher he lay a good while in Exeter Jeole. For besids his miscariage here, he was vemently suspected for y^e murder of a man that had adventured moneys with him, when he came first into New-England. And a warrente was sente from y^e Lord Cheefe Justice to apprehend him, by vertue wherof he was by the Gov^r of y^e Massachusetts sent into England; *

* The following is from the Mass. Colony Records. Under date August 23d, 1630, "It was ordered, that Morton, of Mount Woolison, should be presently sent for by process." September 7th, "It is ordered by this present Court, that Thomas Morton, of Mount Wolliston, shall presently be set into the bilboes, and after sent prisoner into England, by the ship called the Gift, now returning thither; that all his goods shall be seized upon to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he unjustly took away from them; and that his house, after his goods are taken out, shalt be burnt down to the ground in the sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction, for many wrongs he hath done them from time to time."

Winthrop, noticing the above sentence, under date September 30th, adds: "Captain Brook, master of the Gift, refused to carry him." Dudley, in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, says: "In the end of this December departed from us the ship Handmaid, of London, by which we sent away one Thomas Morton, a proud, insolent man, who has lived here divers years, and had been an attorney in the west countries while he lived in England. Multitude of complaints were received against him for injuries done by him

both to the English and Indians; and amongst others, for shooting hail-shot at a troop of Indians for not bringing a canoe unto him to cross a river withal; whereby he hurt one, and shot through the garments of another. For the satisfaction of the Indians wherein, and that it might appear to them and to the English that we meant to do justice impartially, we caused his hands to be bound behind him, and set his feet in the bilboes, and burned his house to the ground, all in the sight of the Indians, and so kept him prisoner till we sent him for England; whither we sent him, for that my Lord Chief Justice there so required, that he might punish him capitally for fouler misdemeanors there perpetrated, as we were informed."

Morton gives his own account of his arrest and sentence, which corresponds with the above, but he is silent as to the charges there brought against him. He says that after Endicott's arrival (whom he styles Captain Littleworth), every planter, old and new, was required to subscribe to "certain articles devised between him and their new pastor, Master Eager," the tenor of which was, "that in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as political, we should follow the rule of God's word." All the assembly subscribed but Morton, who declined, "unless they would add

and for other his misdemeanors amongst them, they demolisht his house, that it might be no longer a roost for shuch unclaine birds to nestle in. Yet he got free againe, and write an infamouse & scurillous booke* against many godly & cheefe men of y^e cuntrie; full of lyes & slanders, and fraight with profane callumnies against their names and persons, and y^e ways of God. After sundry years, when y^e warrs were hott in England, he

this caution: So as nothing be done contrary or repugnant to the laws of the kingdom of England." In some other arrangements proposed concerning trade, he also declined to become a party. On the arrival of Winthrop, he intimates that the Book of Common Prayer, which he used, was one occasion why he "must not be spared." After Morton's arrival in England he used what influence he had against the Massachusetts colony; and returning here again in 1644, he was arrested and imprisoned for a year, then fined and set at liberty, "being old and crazy." Soon after he left the colony and went to Accomenticus, and died within two years, "poor and despised." See Records of Mass., I. 74, 75; Savage's Winthrop, I. 34, 35, II. 189-192; Young's Chronicles of Mass., pp. 321, 322; Morton's New English Canaan, pp. 157-159, 162, 163. — Ed.

* Morton's book is entitled "New English Canaan, or New Canaan," &c. "Printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1637." There are copies which bear upon the title the year 1632; but this date is evidently fictitious, as the author more than once refers to Wood's New England Prospect, which was first printed in 1634. On page 38, he speaks of what "my countryman, Mr. Wood, declares in his prospect," &c. Morton's book is curious and interesting, and contains much valuable information, especially concerning the manners and customs of the Indians here; though some of his statements should be received with caution. That portion of the narrative concerning himself and his contemporaries here is written in such an enigmatical style that it is often difficult to detect his

meaning. Morton was evidently a wag, and, according to his own account, given to rioting and jollity. Bradford is severe upon him, but the reader of the New English Canaan will rather be confirmed than otherwise in the truth of our author's statements. The following passage relating to Endicott is a good specimen of his book.

"In the mean time, while these former passages were, there was a great swelling fellow, of Littleworth, crept over to Salem to take upon him their employments for a time. He, resolving to make hay while the sun did shine, first pretended himself to be sent over as Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Bay, and Salem forsooth, and took unto him a Council, and a worthy one no doubt (for the Cow-keeper of Salem was a prime man in those employments); and to add a majesty, as he thought, to his new assumed dignity, he caused the Patent of the Massachusetts (new brought into the land) to be carried where he went in his progress to and fro, as an emblem of his authority; which the vulgar people, not acquainted with, thought it to be some instrument of music locked up in that covered case, and thought (for so some said) this man of Littleworth had been a fiddler; and the rather because he had put into the mouths of poor silly things that were sent along with him, what skill he had in engines and in things of quaint device," &c. Those who have seen, at the State-House, the case in which one of the copies of the Massachusetts Charter was probably brought over, will appreciate the above description of it. It might easily be supposed to contain "some instrument of music." — Ed.

came againe into y^e cuntrie, and was imprisoned at Boston for this booke and other things, being grown old in wickednes.

Concerning y^e rest of M^r. Allertons instructions, in which they strictly injoynd him not to exceed above y^t 50^{li}. in y^e goods before mentioned, not to bring any but trading comodities, he followed them not at all, but did the quite contrarie; bringing over many other sorts of retaile goods, selling what he could by the way on his owne accounte, and delivering the rest, which he said to be theirs, into y^e store; and for trading goods brought but litle in comparison; excusing the matter, they had laid out much about y^e Laiden people, & patent, &c. And for other goods, they had much of them of ther owne dealings, without present disbursemente, & to like effect. And as for passing his bounds & instructions, he laid it on M^r. Sherley, &c., who, he said, they might see his mind in his leters; also that they had sett out Ashley at great charg; but next year they should have what trading goods they would send for, if things were now well settled, &c. And thus were they put off; indeed, M^r. Sherley write things tending this way, but it is like he was overruled by M^r. Allerton, and harkened more to him then to their letters from hence.

Thus he further writs in y^e former leter.

I see what you write in your leters concerning y^e overcoming & paying of our debts, which I confess are great, and had need be carfully looked unto; yet no doubt but we, joyning in love, may soone over-come them; but we must follow it roundly & to purposs, for if we peddle out y^e time of our trad, others will step in and nose us. But we know y^t you have y^t acquaintance & experience in y^e countrie, as none have the like; wherefore, freinds & partners, be no way discouraged with y^e greatnes of y^e debt, &c., but let us not fulfill y^e proverbe, to bestow 12^d. on a purse, and put 6^d. [16S] in it; but as you and we have been at great charg, and undergone much for settling you ther, and to gaine experience, so as God shall enable us, let us make

use of it. And think not with 50th. pound a yeare sent you over, to rayse such means as to pay our debts. We see a possibilitie of good if you be well supplied, and fully furnished; and cheefly if you lovingly agree. I know I write to godly and wise men, such as have lerned to bear one an others infirmities, and rejoyce at any ones prosperities; and if I were able I would press this more, because it is hoped by some of your enimies, that you will fall out one with another, and so over throw your hopfull bussines. Nay, I have heard it crediblie reported, y^e some have said, that till you be disjoynted by discontents & factions * amongst your sellves, it bootes not any to goe over, in hope of getting or doing good in those parts. But we hope beter things of you, and that you will not only bear one with another, but banish such thoughts, and not suffer them to lodg in your brests. God grant you may disappointe y^e hopes of your foes, and procure y^e hartie desire of your selves & freinds in this perticuler.

By this it appears that ther was a kind of concurrence betweene M^r. Allerton and them in these things, and that they gave more regard to his way & course in these things, then to y^e advise from hence; which made him bould to presume above his instructions, and to rune on in y^e course he did, to their greater hurt afterwards, as will appear. These things did much trouble them hear, but they well knew not how to help it, being loath to make any breach or contention hear aboute; being so premonished as before in y^e leter above recited. An other more secrete cause was herewith concurrente; M^r. Allerton had married y^e daughter † of their Reverend Elder, M^r. Brewster (a man beloved & honoured amongst them, and who tooke great paines in teaching & dispenccing y^e word of God unto them), whom they were loath to greeve or any way offend, so as they bore with much in that respecte. And with all M^r. Allerton carried so

* *Fractions* in the manuscript. — Ed.

† He married Fear Brewster about the year 1626, his former wife Mary having died February 25th, 1620-1. His wife Fear died in 1634, and he

subsequently married Joanna ———. See Prince, I. 98; Cushman Genealogy, pp. 615, 618; List of Passengers in the Mayflower, in Appendix. — Ed.

faire with him, and procured such leters from M^r. Sherley to him, with shuch applause of M^r. Allertons wisdom, care, and faithfullnes, in y^e bussines; and as things stood none were so fitte to send aboute them as he; and if any should suggest other wise, it was rather out of envie, or some other sinister respecte then other wise. Besides, though private gaine, I doe perswade my selfe, was some cause to lead M^r. Allerton aside in these beginings, yet I thinke, or at least charitie caries me to hope, that he intended to deale faithfully with them in y^e maine, and had such an opinion of his owne abillitie, and some experience of y^e benefite that he had made in this singuler way, as he conceived he might both raise him selfe an estate, and allso be a means to bring in such profite to M^r. Sherley, (and it may be y^e rest,) as might be as likly to bring in their moneys againe with advantage, and it may be sooner then from the generall way; or at least it was looked upon by some of them to be a good help ther unto; and that neither he nor any other did intend to charge y^e generall accounte with any thing that rane in perticuler; or y^t M^r. Sherley or any other did purposs but y^t y^e generall should be first & fully supplied. I say charitie makes me thus conceive; though things fell out other wise, and they missed of their aimes, and y^e generall suffered abundantly hereby, as will afterwards apear.

[169] Togeither herewith sorted an other bussines contrived by M^r. Allerton and them ther, wthout any knowledg of y^e partners, and so farr proceeded in as they were constrained to allow therof, and joyne in y^e same, though they had no great liking of it, but feared what might be y^e evente of y^e same. I shall relate it in a further part of M^r. Sherley's leter as foloweth.

I am to aquainte you that we have thought good to joyne with one Edward Ashley* (a man I thinke y^t some of you

* By the date of Mr. Sherley's and Hatherly's letters of March 19, 1629

know); but it is only of y^t place wherof he hath a patente in Mr. Beachamps name;* and to that end have furnished him with larg provissions, &c. Now if you please to be partners with us in this, we are willing you shall; for after we heard how forward Bristoll men (and as I hear some able men of his owne kindrid) have been to stock & supply him, hoping of profite, we thought it fitter for us to lay hould of such an opportunitie, and to keep a kind of ruining plantation, then others who have not borne y^e burthen of setling a plantation, as we have done. And he, on y^e other side, like an understanding yonge man, thought it better to joyne with those y^t had means by a plantation to supply & back him ther, rather then strangers, that looke but only after profite. Now it is not knowne that you are partners with him; but only we 4., Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beachamp, my selfe, & Mr. Hatherley, who desired to have y^e patente, in consideration of our great loss we have allready sustained in setling y^e first plantation ther; so we agreed togeather to take it in our names. And now, as I said before, if you please to joyne with us, we are willing you should. Mr. Allerton had no power from you to make this new contracte, neither was he willing to doe any thing therin without your consente & approbation. Mr. William Peirce is joyned with us in this, for we thought it very conveniente, because of landing Ashley and his goods ther, if God please; and he will bend his course accordingly.† He hath a new boate with him, and boards to make another, with 4. or 5. lustie fellowes, wherof one is a carpenter. Now in case you are not willing in this perticuler to joyne with us, fearing y^e charge & doubting y^e success, yet thus much we intreate of you, to afford him all the help you can, either by men, commodities, or boats; yet not but y^t we will pay you for any thing he hath. And we desire you to keep y^e accounts apart, though you joyne with us; becace ther is, as you see, other partners in this then y^e other; so, for all mens wages, boats-hire, or comodities, which we shall have of you, make him debtores for it; and what

(i. e. 1629-30), it seems that all this account of Ashley should be brought into 1630. — *Prince*.

* This patent was granted to John Beauchamp of London, and Thomas Leverett of Boston (Eng.), and was called the "Musconigus Patent." The original was, a few years since, in the family of the late General Knox, of Maine. It bears date "March 13, 1629"

(i. e. 1629-30). An abstract of it is in Hazard, I. 304, 305. See Williamson's Maine, I. 240. — Ed.

† By this it seems as if Mr. Peirce had Ashley and the goods in him, and was to land them at Penobscut. But whether he did so after June 12, 1630, when Governor Winthrop found him in Salem harbor, I am yet uncertain. — *Prince*.

you shall have of him, make y^e plantation or your selves debtore for it to him, and so ther will need no mingling of y^e accounts.

And now, loving freinds & partners, if you joyne in Ashles patent & bussines, though we have laid out y^e money and taken up much to stock this bussines & the other, yet I thinke it conscionable and reasonable y^t you should beare your shares and proportion of y^e stock, if not by present money, yet by securing us for so much as it shall come too; for it is not barly y^e interest y^t is to be alowed & considered of, but allso y^e adventure; though I hope in God, by his blessing & your honest indeavors, it may soon be payed; yet y^e years y^t this partnership holds is not long, nor many; let all therfore lay it to harte, and make y^e best use of y^e time that possiblie we cann, and let every man put too his shoulder, and y^e burthen will be the lighter. I know you are so honest & conscionable men, as you will consider hereof, [170] and returne shuch an answer as may give good satisfaction. Ther is none of us that would venture as we have done, were it not to strengthen & setle you more then our owne perticuler profite.

Ther is no lilyhood of doing any good in buying y^e debte for y^e purchas. I know some will not abate y^e interest, and therfore let it rune its course; they are to be paied yearly, and so I hope they shall, according to agremente. The Lord grant y^r our loves & affections may still be united, and knit together; and so we rest your ever loving friends,

JAMES SHERLEY.

TIMOTHY HATHERLEY.

Bristoll, March 19. 1629.*

This mater of y^e buying y^e debts of y^e purchass was parte of M^r. Allertons instructions, and in many of them it might have been done to good profite for ready pay (as some were); but M^r. Sherley had no mind to it. But this bussines aboute Ashley did not a litle trouble them; for though he had wite & abillitie enough to menage y^e bussines, yet some of them knew him to be a very profane yonge man; and he had for some time lived amouge y^r Indeans as a savage, & wente naked amongst them, and

* I conclude, according to the old English account, March 19, 1629-30. So that Ashley came to Penobscut in the spring, and to Plymouth in the fall, of 1630; and the four following paragraphs belong to 1630. — *Prince*.

used their maners (in w^{ch} time he got their language), so they feared he might still rune into evill courses (though he promised better), and God would not prosper his ways. As soone as he was landed at y^e place intended, caled Penobscote, some 4. score leagues from this place, he write (& afterwards came) for to desire to be supplied with Wampampeake, corne against winter, and other things. They considered these were of their cheefe comodities, and would be continually needed by him, and it would much prejudice their owne trade at Kenebeck if they did not joyne with him in y^e ordering of things, if thus they should supply him; and on y^e other hand, if they refused to joyne with him, and allso to afford any supply unto him, they should greatly offend their above named friends, and might hapily lose them hereby; and he and M^r. Allerton, laying their craftie wits together, might gett supplies of these things els wher; besids, they considered that if they joyned not in y^e bussines, they knew M^r. Allerton would be with them in it, & so would swime, as it were, betweene both, to y^e prejudice of boath, but of them selves espetially. For they had reason to thinke this bussines was chiefly of his contriving, and Ashley was a man fitte for his turne and dealings. So they, to prevente a worse mischeefe, resolved to joyne in y^e bussines, and gave him supplies in what they could, & overlooked his proceedings as well as they could; the which they did y^e better, by joyning an honest yonge man,* that came from Leyden, with him as his fellow (in some sorte), and not merely as a servante. Which yonge man being discreete, and one whom they could trust, they so instructed as kept Ashley in some good mesure within bounds. And so they returned their answer to their freinds in England, that

* Thomas Willett.

[Thomas Willett became a man of some importance in the colony, being an Assistant for thirteen successive years. He was the first Mayor of New York after the conquest by the English,

and by his activity and intelligence rendered his Majesty's commissioners some service. See further concerning him in Davis's edition of the Memorial, p. 311; Savage's Winthrop, I. 322; Brodhead's New York, *passim*. — Ed.]

they accepted of their motion, and joynd with them in Ashleys bussines; and yet withall tould them what their fears were concerning him.

But when they came to have full notice of all y^e goods brought them that year, they saw they fell very short of trading goods, and Ashley farr better suppleyed then [171] themselves; so as they were forced to buy of the fisher men to furnish them selves, yea, & cottens & carseys & other such like cloath (for want of trading cloath) of M^r. Allerton himselfe, and so to put away a great parte of their beaver, at under rate, in the countrie, which they should have sente home, to help to discharge their great ingagementes; which was to their great vexation; but M^r. Allerton prayed them to be contente, and y^e nexte yere they might have what they would write for. And their ingagmentes of this year were great indeed when they came to know them, (which was not wholly till 2. years after); and that which made them y^e more, M^r. Allerton had taken up some large sumes at Bristoll at 50. p^r cent. againe, which he excused, that he was forete to it, because other wise he could at y^e spring of year get no goods transported, such were their envie against their trade. But wheither this was any more then an excuse, some of them doubted; but however, y^e burden did lye on their backs, and they must bear it, as they did many heavie loads more in y^e end.

This paying of 50. p^r cent. and difculty of having their goods trāsported by y^e fishing ships at y^e first of y^e year, (as was beleevd,) which was y^e cheefe season for trade, put them upon another projecte. M^r. Allerton, after y^e fishing season was over, light of a bargan of salte, at a good fishing place, and bought it; which came to aboute 113^{ti}.; and shortly after he might have had 30^{ti}. cleare profite for it, without any more trouble aboute it. But M^r. Winslow coming that way from Kenebeck, & some other of ther partners with him in y^e barke, they mett

with M^r. Allerton, and falling into discourse with him, they stayed him from selling y^e salte; and resolved, if it might please y^e rest, to keep it ~~for~~ them selves, and to hire a ship in y^e west cuntrie to come on fishing for them, on shares, according to y^e coustome; and seeing she might have her salte here ready, and a stage ready builte & fitted wher the salt lay safely landed & housed. In stead of bringing salte, they might stowe her full of trading goods, as bread, pease, cloth, &c., and so they might have a full supply of goods without paing freight, and in due season, which might turne greatly to their advantage. Coming home, this was propounded, and considered on, and aproved by all but y^e Gov^r, who had no mind to it, seeing they had allway lost by fishing; but y^e rest were so earnest, as thinkeing that they might gaine well by y^e fishing in this way; and if they should but save, yea, or lose some thing by it, y^e other benefite would be advantage inough; so, seeing their earnestnes, he gave way, and it was referd to their freinds in England to alow, or disalow it. Of which more in its place.

Upon y^e consideration of y^e bussines about y^e paten, & in what state it was left, as is before remembred, and M^r. Sherleys earnest pressing to have M^r. Allertō to come over againe to finish it, & perfect y^e accounts, &c., it was concluded to send him over this year againe; * though it was with some fear & jeolocie; yet he gave them fair words and promises of well performing all their bussineses according to their directions, and to mend his former errors. So he was accordingly sent with full instructions for all things, with large letters to M^r. Sherley & y^e rest, both aboute Ashleys bussines and their owne suply with trading comodities, and how much it did concerne them to be furnished therwith, & what y^e had suffered ~~for~~ wante therof; and of what litle use other goods were [172] in

* I suppose in the fall of 1630. —
Prince.

This seems very evident, although
related under the year 1629. — *Ed.*

comparison therof; and so likewise aboute this fishing ship, to be thus hired, and fraught with trading goods, which might both supply them & Ashley, and y^e benefite therof; which was left to their consideration to hire & set her out, or not; but in no case not to send any, exepte she was thus freighted with trading goods. But what these things came too will appere in y^e next years passages.

I had like to have omitted an other passage that fell out y^e begining of this year.* Ther was one M^r. Ralfe Smith,† & his wife & familie, y^t came over into y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts, and sojourned at presente with some stragling people that lived at Natascoe; here being a boat of this place putting in ther on some occasion, he earnestly desired that they would give him & his, passage for Plimoth, and some such things as they could well carrie; having before heard y^t ther was liklyhood he might procure house-roume for some time, till he should resolve to settle ther, if he might, or els-wher as God should disposse; for he was werie of being in y^t uncoth place, & in a poore house y^t would neither keep him nor his goods drie. So, seeing him to be a grave man, & understood he had been a minister, though they had no order for any such thing, yet they presumed and brought him. He was here accordingly kindly entertained & housed, & had y^e rest of his goods & servants sente for, and exercised his gifts amongst them, and afterwards was chosen into y^e ministrie, and so remained for sundrie years.

It was before noted that sundry of those that came from Leyden, came over in the ships y^t came to Salem, wher M^r. Endecott had cheefe comānd; and by infection that grue amonge y^e passengers at sea, it spread also among them a shore, of which many dyed, some of y^e scurvie, other of an infectious feaoure, which continued some time amongst them (though our people, through Gods goodnes, escaped

* This might be in the beginning of 1629, as also the following paragraphs.
—*Prince.*

† Mr. Smith came over with Higgin-

son in 1629, arriving in the latter part of June. See ample notice of him in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 151. — Ed.

it). Upon which occasion he write hither for some help, understanding here was one that had some skill y^r way, & had cured diverse of y^e scurvie, and others of other diseases, by letting blood, & other means. Upon which his request y^e Gov^r hear sent him unto them, and also write to him, from whom he received an answer; the which, because it is breefe, and shows y^e begining of their acquaintance, and closing in y^e truth & ways of God, I thought it not unmeete, nor without use, hear to inserte it; and an other showing y^e begining of their fellowship & church estate ther.

Being as followeth.*

Right worthy S^r :

It is a thing not usuall, that servants to one m^r. and of y^e same household should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not, nay, to speake more plainly, I cannot be so to you. Gods people are all marked with one and y^e same marke, and sealed with one and y^e same seale, and have for y^e maine, one & y^e same harte, guided by one & same spirite of truth; and wher this is, ther can be no discorde, nay, here must needs be sweete harmonie. And y^e same request (with you) I make unto y^e Lord, that we may, as Christian breethren, be united by a heavenly & unfained love; bending all our harts and forces in furthering a worke beyond our strength, with reverence & fear. fastening our eyse allways on him that only is able to directe and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge my selfe much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending M^r. Fuller † among

* "To the worshipful and my right worthy friend, William Bradford, Esq., Governor of New Plymouth, these." This letter was written about six weeks before the arrival of the ships which brought Higginson and Skelton and their company, and also the thirty-five of "our people" from Leyden; though from the context it would be inferred otherwise. It is correctly stated in our author's Letter-Book. Dr. Fuller may have repeated his visit after their arrival. This and the following letter were copied by Morton into the Plymouth Church Records. See Young's Chron. of Mass., pp. 143, 235. — ED.

† Samuel Fuller was of the Mayflower company, and was the first physician of the colony. He was also a deacon of the church of Plymouth, and had borne that office for a number of years while in Holland. In a scarce tract, entitled "The Prophane Schisme of the Brownists, or Separatists," &c., published in 1612, containing some account of the controversy between the Ainsworth and Johnson factions at Amsterdam, mention is made of a letter sent by an adherent of the latter to "Samuel Fuller, a Deacon of Master Robinson's church." He was probably one of the Assistants in the government

us, and rejoyce much y^e I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of y^e outward forme of Gods worships. It is, as farr as [173] I can yet gather, no other then is warrented by y^e evidence of truth, and y^e same which I have professed and maintained ever since y^e Lord in mercie revealed him selfe unto me; being farr from y^e commone reporte that hath been spread of you touching that perticuler. But Gods children must not looke for less here below, and it is y^e great mercie of God, that he strengthens them to goe through with it. I shall not neede at this time to be tedious unto you, for, God willing, I purpose to see your face shortly. In y^e mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, comiting you to y^e Lords blessed protection, & rest,

Your assured loving friend,

Jo: ENDECOTT.

Naumkeak, May 11. An^o. 1629.

This second leter sheweth ther proceedings in their church affaires at Salem, which was y^e 2. church erected in these parts; and afterwards y^e Lord established many more in sundrie places.

S^r: I make bould to trouble you with a few lines, for to certifie you how it hath pleased God to deale with us, since you heard from us. How, notwithstanding all opposition that hath been hear, & els wher, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to his word in every thing. The 20. of July, it pleased y^e Lord to move y^e hart of our Gov^r to set it aparte for a solemne day of humilliation, for y^e choyce of a pastor & teacher. The former parte of y^e day being spent in praier & teaching, the later parte aboute y^e election, which was after this maner. The persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings; they acknowledged ther was a towfould calling, the one an inward calling, when y^e Lord moved y^e harte of a man to take y^e calling upon him, and fitted him with guiftes for y^e same; the second was an outward calling, which was from y^e people,

in 1631, and may have been in other years. He died in 1633. "His will, dated July 30th, and proved October 28th, 1633, is the earliest on record." His wife, Bridget, who came in the

Anne, was living in 1664. He left a son, Samuel. See New England Hist. and Geneal. Reg., II. 244; Russell's Guide to Plymouth, pp. 129, 245, 246. See further under the year 1633.—Ed.

when a company of beleevers are joyned together in covenante, to walke together in all y^e ways of God, and every member (being men) are to have a free voyce in y^e choyce of their officers, &c. Now, we being perswaded that these 2. men were so quallified, as y^e apostle speaks to Timothy, wher he saith, A bishop must be blamles, sober, apte to teach, &c., I thinke I may say, as y^e eunuch said unto Philip, What should let from being baptised, seeing ther was water? and he beleaved. So these 2. servants of God, clearing all things by their answers, (and being thus fitted,) we saw noe reason but we might freely give our voyces for their election, after this triall.* So Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor, and Mr. Higgison to be teacher; and they accepting y^e choyce, Mr. Higgison, with 3. or 4. of y^e gravest members of y^e church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayer therwith. This being done, ther was imposission of hands on Mr. Higgison also.† And since that time, Thursday (being, as I take it, y^e 6. of August) is appoynted for another day of humilliation, for y^e choyce of elders & deacons, & ordaining of them.‡

And now, good S^r, I hope y^t you & y^e rest of Gods people (who are acquainted with the ways of God) with you, will say that hear was a right foundation layed, and that these 2. blessed servants of y^e Lord came in at y^e dore, and not at y^e window. Thus I have made bould to trouble you with these few lines, desiring you to remember us, &c. And so rest,

At your service in what I may,

CHARLES GOTT.§

Salem, July 30. 1629.

* "Their choice was after this manner: every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise whom they would have for teacher. So the most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor and Mr. Higgison to be teacher." See the copy of this letter in Bradford's Letter-Book. Messrs. Skelton and Higgison had arrived at Salem in the latter part of the preceding June. — Ed.

† "Then there was proceeding in election of elders and deacons, but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over." Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

‡ According to Morton, Skelton and Higgison were ordained August 6th, and Governor Bradford and some others, who intended to be present, "coming by sea, were hindered by cross winds, that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right hand of fellowship." Prince suggests that the former imposition of hands, on the 20th of July, "may only signify their previous separation from their solemn charge," having been before ordained by bishops; "and this latter, of August 6th, their actual investiture therein." See Morton's Memorial, pp. 75, 76; Prince, l. 191. — Ed.

§ Mr. Gott came over to Salem in

[174] *Anno Dom: 1630.*

ASHLEY, being well supplied, had quickly gathered a good parcell of beaver, and like a crafty pate he sent it all home,* and would not pay for y^e goods he had had of y^e plantation hear, but lett them stand still on y^e score, and tooke up still more. Now though they well enough knew his aime, yet they let him goe on, and write of it into England. But partly y^e beaver they received, & sould, (of which they weer sencible,) and partly by M^r. Allertons extolling of him, they cast more how to supplie him then y^e plantation, and something to upbraid them with it. They † were forct to buy him a barke allso, and to furnish her wth a m^r. & men, to transporte his corne & provisions (of which he put of much); for y^e Indeans of those parts have no corne growing, and at harvest, after corne is ready, y^e weather grows foule, and y^e seas dangerous, so as he could doe litle good with his shallope for y^t purpos.

They looked earnestly for a timely supply this spring,‡ by the fishing ship which they expected, and had been at charg to keepe a stage for her; but none came, nor any supply heard of for them. At length they heard some supply was sent to Ashley by a fishing ship, at which they something marvelled, and the more y^t they had no letters either from M^r. Allerton or M^r. Sherley; so they went on in their bussines as well as y^e could. At last they heard of M^r. Peirce his arivall in y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts, who brought passengers & goods thither.§

1628, with Endicott, and was afterwards a deacon of the church there. See Hubbard, p. 109; Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 30. — *Ed.*

* I suppose this was in the fall of 1630. — *Prince.*

† *They*, that is, the New Plymouth Undertakers. — *Prince.*

‡ This must be the spring of 1631, i. e. the spring after Ashley went to Penobscut. — *Prince.*

§ Mr. Peirce is found by Governor

Winthrop at Salem, June 12, 1630; sails for Ireland or England about Aug. 1630; set sail from England, viz. from Bristoll, Dec. 1, 1630; arrives from England at Natasket, Feb. 5, 1630-1; sails from Salem, April 1, arrives at London, April 29, 1631; arrives again from England at Natasket, Nov. 2, 1631; as Governor Winthrop informs us, and see the note below. By all which Governor Bradford seems to be mistaken or misinformed of the

They presently sent a shallop, conceiving they should have some thing by him. But he tould them he had none; and a ship was sett out on fishing, but after 11. weeks beating at sea, she mett with shuch foull weather as she was forcte back againe for England, and, y^e season being over, gave off y^e vioage.* Neither did he hear of much goods in her for y^e plantation, or y^t she did belong to them, for he had heard some thing from M^r. Allerton tending that way. But M^r. Allerton had bought another ship, and was to come in her, and was to fish for bass to y^e eastward, and to bring goods, &c. These things did much trouble them, and half astonish them. M^r. Winslōw haveing been to y^e eastward, brought nuese of the like things, wth some more perticulers, and y^t it was like M^r. Allerton would be late before he came. At length they, having an oppertunitie, resolved to send M^r. Winslow, with what beaver they had ready, into England, to see how y^e squars wente, being very jeolouse of these things, & M^r. Allertons courses; and writ shuch leters, and gave him shuch instructions, as they thought meet; and if he found things not well, to discharge M^r. Allerton for being any longer agent for them, or to deal any more in y^e bussines, and to see how y^e accounts stood, &c.

Aboute y^e middle of somer arrives M^r. Hatherley in y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts, (being one of y^e partners,) and came over in y^e same ship that was set out on fhishing (called y^e Frendship).† They presently sent to him, making no question but now they had goods come, and should know how all things stood. But they found

name of the master of this ship. — *Prince*.

* Governor Winthrop says, the news of this comes to Boston by letters from Mr. Allerton at Saco, in the White Angel, on June 27, 1631. — *Prince*.

† The Friendship arrives at Boston, on July 14, 1631, as Governor Winthrop tells us. — *Prince*.

“The ship called the Friendship, of Barnstable, arrived at Boston, after she had been at sea eleven weeks, and beaten back again by foul weather. She set sail from Barnstable again about the midst of May. She landed here eight heifers, and one calf, and five sheep.” Winthrop, I. 58. — Ed.

[175] the former news true, how this ship had been so long at sea, and spent and spoyled her provissions, and overthrowne y^e viage. And he being sent over by y^e rest of y^e partners, to see how things wente hear, being at Bristol with M^r. Allerton, in y^e shipe bought (called y^e White-Angell), ready to set sayle, over night came a messenger from Bastable to M^r. Allerton, and tould him of y^e returne of y^e ship, and what had befallen. And he not knowing what to doe, having a great chareg under hand, y^e ship lying at his rates, and now ready to set sayle, got him to goe and discharg y^e ship,* and take order for y^e goods. To be short, they found M^r. Hatherley some thing reserved, and troubled in him selfe, (M^r. Allerton not being ther,) not knowing how to dispose of y^e goods till he came; but he heard he was arived with y^e other ship to y^e eastward,† and expected his coming. But he tould them ther was not much for them in this ship, only 2. packs of Bastable ruggs, and 2. hoggsheads of meatheglin, drawne out in wooden flackets (but when these flackets came to be received, ther was left but 6. gallons of y^e 2. hoggsheads, it being drunke up under y^e name leackage, and so lost). But the ship was filled with goods for sundrie gentle-men, & others, that were come to plant in y^e Massachusets, for which they payed freight by y^r tun. And this was all the satisfaction they could have at presente, so they brought this small parcell of goods & returned with this nues, and a letter as obscure; which made them much to marvell therat. The letter was as followeth.

Gentle-men, partners, and loving friends, &c.

Breefly thus: wee have this year set forth a fishing ship, and a trading ship, which later we have bought; and so have disbursed a great deale of money, as may and will appeare by y^e

* That is, of her fishing crew. —
Prince.

† That is, the White Angel at Saco,
in June, 1631. — *Prince.*

accounts. And because this ship (called y^e White Angell) is to acte 2. parts, (as I may say,) fishing for bass, and trading; and that while Mr. Allerton was employed aboute y^e trading, the fishing might suffer by carlesnes or neglecte of y^e sailors, we have entreated your and our loving friend, Mr. Hatherley, to goe over with him, knowing he will be a comforte to Mr. Allerton, a joye to you, to see a carfull and loving friend, and a great stay to y^e bussines; and so great contente to us, that if it should please God y^e one should faile, (as God forbid,) yet y^e other would keepe both reconnings, and things uprighte. For we are now out great sumes of money, as they will acquainte you withall, &c. When we were out but 4. or 5. hundred pounds a peece, we looked not much after it, but left it to you, & your agente, (who, without flaterie, deserveth infinite thanks & commendations, both of you & us, for his pains, &c.); but now we are out double, nay, tribble a peece, some of us, &c.; which maks us both write, and send over our friend, Mr. Hatherley, whom we pray you to entertaine kindly, of which we doubte not of. The main end of sending him is to see y^e state and accounte of all y^e bussines, of all which we pray you informe him fully, though y^e ship & bussines wayte for it and him. For we should take it very unkindly that we should intreat him to take such a journey, and that, when it pleaseth God he returnes, he could not give us contente & satisfaction in this perticuler, through defaulte of any of you. [176] But we hope you will so order bussines, as neither he nor we shall have cause to complaine, but to doe as we ever have done, thinke well of you all, &c. I will not promise, but shall indeaour & hope to effecte y^e full desire and grant of your patente,* & that ere it be long. I would not have you take any thing unkindly. I have not write out of jeolocic of any unjuste dealing. Be you all kindly saluted in y^e Lord, so I rest,

Yours in what I may,

March 25. 1630.†

JAMES SHERLEY.

It needs not be thought strange, that these things should amase and trouble them; first, that this fishing ship‡

* See pp. 250, 251. — *Ed.*

† Mr. Sherley, being unmindful that, according to the old English way, 1630 ended on March 24, 1630-1, happens to

misdate his letter, which should have been March 25, 1631. — *Prince.*

‡ That is, the Friendship. — *Prince.*

should be set out, and freight with other mens goods, & scarce any of theirs; seeing their maine end was (as is before remembred) to bring them a full supply, and their speatiall order not to sett out any excepte this was done. And now a ship to come on their accounte, clean contrary to their both end & order, was a misterie they could not understand; and so much y^e worse, seeing she had shuch ill success as to lose both her vioage & provissions. The 2. thing, that another ship* should be bought and sente out on new designes, a thing not so much as once thought on by any here, much less, not a word intimated or spoaken of by any here, either by word or letter, neither could they imagine why this should be. Bass fishing was never lookt at by them, but as soone as ever they heard on it, they looked at it as a vaine thing, that would certainly turne to loss. And for M^r. Allerton to follow any trade for them, it was never in their thoughts. And 3^{ly}, that their friēds should complaine of disbursements, and yet rune into such great things, and charge of shiping & new projects of their owne heads, not only without, but against, all order & advice, was to them very strang. And 4^{ly}, that all these matters of so great charg & imployments should be thus wrapped up in a breefe and obscure letter, they knew not what to make of it. But amids all their doubts they must have patience till M^r. Allerton & M^r. Hatherley should come. In y^e mean time M^r. Winslow was gone for England;† and others of them were forst to folow their imployments with y^e best means they had, till they could hear of better.

At length M^r. Hatherley & M^r. Allerton came unto them, (after they had delivered their goods,)‡ and finding

* That is, the White Angel.—*Prince*.

† Which seems to be before July 14, 1631, when the Friendship arrived with Mr. Hatherley at Boston.—*Prince*.

‡ By this it appears that Mr. Allerton and Hatherly arrive in the spring or summer of 1631.

Mr. Hatherly arrived in the Friendship at Boston, July 14, 1631. Mr. Allerton arrived in the White Angel at the Massachusetts Bay, July 22, 1631. The Friendship sails from Boston for Christopher Isle on July 29, 1631. The White Angel sets sail from Boston

them stricken with some sadnes aboute these things, M^r. Allerton tould them that y^e ship Whit-Angele did not belong to them, nor their accounte, neither neede they have any thing to doe with her, excepte they would. And M^r. Hatherley confirmed y^e same, and said that they would have had him to have had a parte, but he refused; but he made question whether they would not turne her upon y^e generall accounte, if ther came loss (as he now saw was like), seeing M^r. Allerton laid downe this course, and put them on this projecte. But for y^e fishing ship, he tould them they need not be so much troubled, for he had her accounts here, and showed them that her first seting out came not much to exceed 600^{li}. as they might see by y^e accounte, which he showed them; and for this later viage,* it would arrise to profite by y^e freight of y^e goods, and y^e saller of some katle which he shiped and had allready sould, & was to be paid for partly here & partly by bills into England, so as they should not have this put on their acounte at all, except they [177] would. And for y^e former, he had sould so much goods out of her in England, and imployed y^e money in this 2. viage, as it, together with such goods & implements as M^r. Allerton must need aboute his fishing, would rise to a good parte of y^e money; for he must have y^e salt and nets, allso spiks, nails, &c.; all which would rise to nere 400^{li}.; so, with y^e bearing of their parts of y^e rest of y^e loses (which would not be much above 200^{li}.), they would clear them of this whole accounte. Of which motion they were glad, not being willing to have any accounts lye upon them; but aboute their trade, which made them willing to harken therunto, and demand of M^r. Hatherley how he could make this good, if they

for New Plymouth, but hindered by contrary winds, and a week after runs ashore at the Gurnet's Nose; (and no doubt Mr. Allerton and Hatherley go to New Plymouth in her). — *Prince*.

"The White Angel fell down for

Plymouth," July 30th. See Winthrop, I. 57-59. — *Ed.*

* That is, after she had been forced back to Barnstable and discharged of her fishing crew, and now came on freight. — *Prince*.

should agree their unto, he tould them he was sent over as their agente, and had this order from them, that whatsoever he and M^r. Allerton did together, they would stand to it; but they would not allow of what M^r. Allerton did alone, except they liked it; but if he did it alone, they would not gaine say it. Upon which they sould to him & M^r. Allerton all y^e rest of y^e goods, and gave them present possession of them; and a writing was made, and confirmed under both M^r. Hatherleys and M^r. Allertons hands, to y^e effecte afforesaide. And M^r. Allertone, being best acquainted wth y^e people, sould away presenly all such goods as he had no need of for y^e fishing, as 9. shallop sails, made of good new canvas, and y^e roads for them being all new, with sundry such usefull goods, for ready beaver, by M^r. Hatherleys allowance. And thus they thought they had well provided for them selvs. Yet they rebuked M^r. Allerton very much for runing into these courses, fearing y^e success of them. M^r. Allerton & M^r. Hatherley brought to y^e towne with them (after he had sould what he could abroad) a great quantity of other goods besids trading comodities; as linen cloath, bedticks, stockings, tape, pins, ruggs, &c., and tould them they were to have them, if they would; but they tould M^r. Allerton that they had forbid him before for bringing any such on their accounte; it would hinder their trade and returnes. But he & M^r. Hatherley said, if they would not have them, they would sell them, them selves, and take corne for what they could not otherwise sell. They tould them they might, if they had order for it. The goods of one sorte & other came to upward of 500^{li}.

After these things, M^r. Allerton wente to y^e ship* aboute his bass fishing; and M^r. Hatherley, (according to his order,) after he tooke knowledg how things stood at y^e plantation, (of all which they informed him fully,) he

* The White Angel. — ED.

then desired a boate of them to goe and visite y^e trading houeses, both Kenebeck, and Ashley at Penobscote; for so they in England had injoynd him. They accordingly furnished him with a boate & men for y^e viage, and acquainted him plainly & thorowly with all things; by which he had good contente and satisfaction, and saw plainly y^t M^r. Allerton plaid his owne game, and rane a course not only to y^e great wrong & detrimente of y^e plantation, who imployed & trusted him, but abused them in England also, in possessing them with prejudice against y^e plantation; as y^t they would never be able to repaye their moneys (in regard of their great charge), but if [179]* they would follow his advice and projects, he & Ashley (being well supplied) would quickly bring in their moneys with good advantage. M^r. Hatherley disclosed also a further projecte aboute y^e setting out of this ship, y^e White-angell; how, she being wel fitted with good ordnance, and known to have made a great fight at sea (when she belongd to Bristoll) and caried away y^e victory, they had agreed (by M^r. Allerton's means) that, after she had brought a freight of goods here into y^e countrie, and freight her selfe with fish, she should goe from hence to Port of porte,† and ther be sould, both ship, goods, and ordenance; and had, for this end, had speech with a factore of those parts, beforehand, to whom she should have been consigned. But this was prevented at this time, (after it was known,) partly by y^e contrary advice given by their freinds hear to M^r. Allerton & M^r. Hatherley, showing how it might insnare their friends in England, (being men of estate,) if it should come to be knowne; and for y^e plantation, they did and would disalow it, and protest against it; and partly by their bad viage, for they both came too late to doe any good for fishing, and allso had such a wicked and drunken company as neither M^r. Allerton nor any els

* 178 is omitted in the paging of the original manuscript. — Ed.

† Oporto, called by the Dutch *Port a port. &c.*

could rule; as M^r. Hatherley, to his great greefe & shame, saw, & beheld, and all others that came nere them.

Ashley likewise was taken in a trape, (before M^r. Hatherley returned,*) for trading powder & shote with y^e Indeans; and was ceased upon by some in authoritie, who also would have confiscated above a thousand weight of beaver; but y^e goods were freed, for y^e Gov^r here made it appere, by a bond under Ashleys hand, wherein he was bound to them in 500^{li}. not to trade any munition with y^e Indeans, or other wise to abuse him selfe; it was also manifest against him that he had comited uncleannes with Indean women, (things that they feared at his first imployment, which made them take this strict course with him in y^e begining); so, to be shorte, they gott their goods freed, but he was sent home prisoner. And that I may make an end concerning him, after some time of imprisonment in y^e Fleet, by y^e means of friends he was set at liberty, and intended to come over againe, but y^e Lord prevented it; for he had a motion made to him, by some marchants, to goe into Russia, because he had such good skill in y^e beaver trade, the which he accepted of, and in his returne home was cast away at sea; this was his end.

M^r. Hatherley, fully understanding y^e state of all things, had good satisfaction, and could well informe them how all things stood betweene M^r. Allerton and y^e plantation. Yea, he found y^t M^r. Allerton had gott within him, and [180] got all y^e goods into his owne hands, for which M^r. Hatherley stood joyntly ingaged to them hear, aboute y^e ship-Freidship, as also most of y^e fraigte money, besids some of his owne perticuler estate; about w^{ch} more will appear here after. So he returned into England,† and

* That is, before Mr. Hatherly returned in the New Plymouth boat from Kennebeck and Penobscut in August, 1631. — *Prince*.

† 1631, Sept. 6. The White Angel set sail from Boston to Marble Harbour; and so, with Mr. Allerton and

Mr. Hatherly, to Bristoll, where they arrive before Nov. 16, 1631, as appears from Mr. Edward Winslow's letter of Nov. 16, and Mr. Sherley's of Nov. 19, 1631, pp. 182, 183. — *Prince*.

The pages of the original manuscript are here referred to. — Ed.

they sente a good quantity of beaver with him to y^e rest of y^e partners ; so both he and it was very wellcome unto them.

Mr. Allerton followed his affaires, & returned with his White Angell, being no more imployed by y^e plantation ; but these bussinesses were not ended till many years after, nor well understood of a longe time, but foulded up in obscuritie, & kepte in y^e clouds, to y^e great loss & vexation of y^e plantation, who in y^e end were (for peace sake) forced to bear y^e unjust burthen of them, to their allmost undoing, as will appear, if God give life to finish this history.

They sent their letters also by Mr. Hatherley to y^e partners ther, to show them how Mr. Hatherley & Mr. Allerton had discharged them of y^e Friendships accounte, and that they boath affirmed y^t the White-Angell did not at all belong to them ; and therefore desired that their accounte might not be charged therwith. Also they write to Mr. Winslow, their agente, that he in like maner should (in their names) protest against it, if any such thing should be intended, for they would never yeeld to y^e same. As also to signifie to them that they renounced Mr. Allerton wholly, for being their agente, or to have any thing to doe in any of their bussines.

This year John Billinton y^e elder (one that came over with y^e first) was arraigned, and both by grand & petie jurie* found guilty of willfull murder, by plaine & notorious evidence. And was for the same accordingly executed.† This, as it was y^e first execution amongst them,

* "It was ordained 17 day of December An^o 1623, by the Court then held, that all criminal facts and also all matters of trespasses and debts between man and man should be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men to be impanelled by authority in form of a jury upon their oath." Plymouth Colony Laws, Brigham's edition. — Ed.

† Hubbard, on page 101, notices the

execution of Billington as taking place "about September" of this year. "The murderer expected that, either for want of power to execute for capital offences, or for want of people to increase the plantation, he should have his life spared ; but justice otherwise determined, and rewarded him, the first murderer of his neighbour there, with the deserved punishment of death, for

so was it a mater of great sadnes unto them. They used all due means about his triall, and tooke y^e advice of Mr. Winthrop and other y^e ablest gentle-men in y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts, that were then new-ly come over, who concured with them y^t he ought to dye, and y^e land to be purged from blood. He and some of his had been often punished for miscariags before, being one of y^e profanest families amongst them. They came from London, and I know not by what freinds shuffed into their company. His facte was, that he way-laid a yong-man, one John New-comin, (about a former quarell,) and shote him with a gunc, wherof he dyed.*

Having by a providence a letter or to y^t came to my hands concerning the proceedings of their Re^d: freinds in y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts, who were latly come over, I thought it not amise here to inserte them, (so farr as is pertenente, and may be usefull for after times,) before I conclude this year.

S^r: Being at Salem y^e 25. of July, being y^e saboath, after y^e evēing exercise, Mr. Johnson received a letter from y^e Gov^r, Mr. John Winthrop, manifesting y^e hand of God to be upon them, and against them at Charles-towne, in visiting them with sicknes, and taking diverse from amongst them, not sparing y^e righteous, but partaking with y^e wicked in these bodily judgments. It was therefore by his desire taken into y^e Godly consideration of y^e best hear, what was to be done to pacifie y^e Lords wrath,† &c. Wher it was concluded, that the Lord was to be sought in righteousnes; and to that end, y^e 6. day (being Friday) of this present weeke, is set aparte, that they may humble them selves

a warning to others." The first offence committed in the colony was by Billington, in 1621, who, for contempt of the Captain's lawful command, with opprobrious speeches, was adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together. Prince, I. 103, from Bradford's pocket-book. — Ed.

* This paragraph was written on the reverse of page 180 of the original manuscript, near this place. — Ed.

† "And they would do nothing without our advice, I mean those members of our church there known unto them, viz. Mr. Fuller, Mr. Allerton, and myself, requiring our voices as their own." See copy of this letter in Bradford's Letter-Book. This and the portion of a letter following, from Fuller, were copied by Morton into the Plymouth Church Records. — Ed.

before God, and seeke him in his ordenances; and that then also such godly persons that are amongst them, and know each to other, may publickly, at y^e end of their exercise, make known their Godly desire, and practise y^e same, viz. solemnly to enter into [181] covenante with y^e Lord to walke in his ways. And since they are so disposed of in their outward estats, as to live in three distinct places, each having men of abilitie amongst them, ther to observe y^e day, and become 3. distincte bodys; not then intending rashly to proceed to y^e choyce of officers, or y^e admitting of any other to their societie then a few, to witte, such as are well knowne unto them; promising after to receive in such by confession of faith, as shall appeare to be fitly qualified for y^e estate. They doe earnestly entreate that y^e church of Plimoth would set apparte y^e same day, for y^e same ends, beseeching y^e Lord, as to withdraw his hand of correction from them, so also to establish and direct them in his wayes. And though y^e time be shorte, we pray you be provoked to this godly worke, seing y^e causes are so urgente; wherin God will be honoured, and they & we undoubtedly have sweete comforte. Be you all kindly saluted, &c.

Your brethren in Christ,* &c.

Salem, July 26. 1630.

S^r: &c. The sadd news here is, that many are sicke, and many are dead; y^e Lord in mercie looke upon them. Some are here entered into church covenante; the first were 4. namely, y^e Gov^r, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Willson; since that 5. more are joyned unto them, and others, it is like, will adde them selves to them dayly; the Lord increase them, both in number and in holines for his mercie sake. Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Cottington,† (a Boston man,) who tould

* Signed by Samuel Fuller and Edward Winslow, but evidently written by the latter. It is addressed, "To our loving brethren and Christian friends, Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Ralph Smith, and Mr. William Brewster, these be." — Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

† The person here intended is William Coddington, one of the founders of Rhode Island. He was chosen an Assistant of the Massachusetts Company shortly before the sailing of Winthrop's fleet, and came over in the

Arbella, arriving at Salem on the 12th of the preceding June. Becoming involved in the Antinomian controversy, and siding with Mrs. Hutchinson, he, in April, 1638, removed to Rhode Island, of which colony he was several years Governor. He afterwards became a Quaker. A curious and interesting tract written by him was published in 1674, entitled, "A Demonstration of True Love unto You the Rulers of the Colony of the Massachusetts in New England," &c. It consists chiefly of two letters to Richard Bellingham, dated

me, that Mr. Cottons* charge at Hamton was, that they should take advise of them at Plimoth, and should doe nothing to offend them.† Here are diverce honest Christians that are desirous to see us, some out of love which they bear to us, and y^e good perswasion they have of us; others to see whether we be so ill as they have heard of us. We have a name of holines, and love to God and his sainets; the Lord make us more and more answerable, and that it may be more then a name, or els it will doe us no good. Be you lovingly saluted, and all the rest of our friends. The Lord Jesus blese us, and y^e whole Israll of God. Amen.

Your loving brother,‡ &c.

Charles-towne, Aug. 2. 1630.

Thus out of smalle beginings greater things have been prodused by his hand y^t made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so y^e light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sorte to our whole nation; let y^e glorious name of Jehova have all y^e praise.

[182] *Anno Dom: 1631.*

ASHLEY being thus by y^e hand of God taken away, and Mr. Allerton discharged of his imploymente for them,§ their bussines began againe to rune in one chanell, and them selves better able to guide the same, Penobscote being wholly now at their disposing. And though Mr. William Peirce had a parte ther as is before noted, yet

1672, in which he complains of the treatment he had received from his old companions, alluding also to the sufferings of the Quakers. Ample notices of Coddington may be found in Callender's Historical Discourse, and in Savage's Winthrop. — Ed.

* The Reverend John Cotton, then vicar of St. Botolph's Church at Boston, in Lincolnshire, accompanied his friends to Southampton, as they were to embark in Winthrop's fleet for New England, and there preached a farewell sermon, which was published

in the same year, entitled "God's Promise to his Plantation." See Scot-tow's Narrative, pp. 13, 20. — Ed.

† This single sentence was written in a previous letter of Fuller to Governor Bradford, as appears from his Letter-Book, and is dated, "Massachusetts, June 28, Anno 1630." &c.

‡ "Your loving brother-in-law, Samuel Fuller." See Bradford's Letter-Book, where is this letter entered, addressed to Governor Bradford. — Ed.

§ In August, 1631. — Prince.

See pp. 275, 276. — Ed.

now, as things stood, he was glad to have his money repayed him, and stand out. M^r. Winslow, whom they had sent over, sent them over some supply as soone as he could; and afterwards when he came, which was something longe* by reason of bussines, he brought a large supply of suitable goods with him, by which ther trading was well carried on. But by no means either he, or y^e letters y^ey write, could take off M^r. Sherley & y^e rest from putting both y^e Friendship and Whit-Angell on y^e generall accounte; which caused continuall contention betweene them, as will more appeare.

I shall inserte a leter of M^r. Winslow's about these things, being as foloweth.

S^r: It fell out by Gods providence, y^t I received and brought your leters p^r M^r. Allerton from Bristoll, to London; and doe much feare what will be y^e event of things. M^r. Allerton intended to prepare y^e ship againe, to set forth upon fishing. M^r. Sherley, M^r. Beachamp, & M^r. Andrews, they renounce all particulers, protesting but for us they would never have adventured one penie into those parts; M^r. Hatherley stands inclinable to either. And wheras you write that he and M^r. Allerton have taken y^e Whit-Angell upon them, for their partners here, they professe they neiver gave any such order, nor will make it good; if them selves will cleare y^e accounte & doe it, all shall be well. What y^e evente of these things will be, I know not. The Lord so directe and assiste us, as he may not be dishonoured by our divissions. I hear (p^r a freind) that I was much blamed for speaking w^t † I heard in y^e spring of y^e year, concerning y^e buying & setting forth of y^t ship; ‡ sure, if I should not have tould you what I heard so peremtorly reported (which report I offered now to prove at Bristoll), I should have been unworthy my employmente. And concerning y^e co^mission so long since given to M^r. Allerton, the truth is, the thing we feared is come upon us; for M^r. Sherley & y^e rest have it, and will not deliver it, that being y^e ground of our agents credite to procure shuch

* Arriving at Boston on June 5, 1632. — *Prince*.

See Winthrop I. 178. — Ed.

† Wth in manuscript. — Ed.

‡ This was about y^e selling y^e ship in Spaine. [In Oporto? See p. 274. — Ed.]

great sumes. But I looke for bitter words, hard thoughts, and sower looks, from sundrie, as well for writing this, as reporting y^e former. I would I had a more thankfull employmente; but I hope a good conscience shall make it comefortable, &c.

Thus farr he. Dated Nov: 16. 1631.

The comission above said was given by them under their hand and seale, when Mr. Allerton was first imployed by them,* and redemanded of him in y^e year 29. when they begane to suspecte his course. He tould them it was amongst his papers, but he would seeke it out & give it them before he wente. But he being ready to goe, it was demanded againe. He said he could not find it, but it was amongst his papers, which he must take wth him, [183] and he would send it by y^e boat from y^e eastward; but ther it could not be had neither, but he would seeke it up at sea. But whether Mr. Sherley had it before or after, it is not certaine; but having it, he would not let it goe, but keeps it to this day. Wherfore, even amongst freinds, men had need be carfull whom they trust, and not lett things of this nature lye long unrecaled.

Some parts of Mr. Sherley's letters aboute these things, in which y^e truth is best manifested.

S^r: Yours I have received by our loving friends, Mr. Allerton & Mr. Hatherley, who, blesed be God, after a long & dangerous passage with y^e ship Angell, are safely come to Bristoll. Mr. Hatherley is come up, but Mr. Allerton I have not yet seen. We thanke you, and are very glad you have dissuaded him from his Spanish viage, and y^t he did not goe on in these designes he intended; for we did all uterly dislick of that course, as also of y^e fishing y^t y^e Freindship should have performed; for we wished him to sell y^e salte, and were unwilling to have him undertake so much bussines, partly for y^e ill success we formerly had in those affairs, and partly being loath to disburse so much money. But he perswaded us this must be one way y^t must repay us, for y^e plantation would be long in doing of it; nay, to

* See p. 210; the commission is in Bradford's Letter-Book. — Ed.

my remembrance, he doubted you could not be able, with y^e trade ther, to maintaine your charge & pay us. And for this very cause he brought us on y^t bussines with Ed: Ashley, for he was a stranger to us, &c.

For y^e fishing ship, we are sorie it proves so heavie, and will be willing to bear our parts. What Mr. Hatherley & Mr. Allerton have done, no doubt but them selves will make good;* we gave them no order to make any composition, to seporate you and us in this or any other. And I thinke you have no cause to forsake us, for we put you upon no new thing, but what your agent perswaded us to, & you by your letters desired. If he exceede your order, I hope you will not blame us, much less cast us of, when our moneys be layed out, &c. But I fear neither you nor we have been well delte withall, for sure, as you write, halfe 4000^{li}., nay, a quarter, in fitting comodities, and in seasonable time, would have furnished you beter then you were. And yet for all this, and much more I might write, I dare not but thinke him honest, and that his desire and intende was good; but y^e wisest may faile. Well, now y^t it hath pleased God to give us hope of meeting, doubte not but we will all indeavore to perfecte these accounts just & right, as soone as possibly we can. And I supposs you sente over Mr. Winslow, and we Mr. Hatherley, to certifie each other how y^e state of things stood. We have received some contente upon Mr. Hatherley's returne, and I hope you will receive good contente upon Mr. Winslow's returne. Now I should come to answer more p^erticularly your letter, but herin I shall be very breefe. The coming of y^e White Angele on your accounte could not be more strang to you, then y^e buying of her was to us; for you gave him comission† that

* They were too short in resting on Mr. Hatherleys honest word, for his order to discharg them from y^e Friendship's accounte, when he and Mr. Allerton made y^e bargane with them, and they delivered them the rest of y^e goods; and therby gave them oppertunitie also to receive all the freight of boath viages, without seeing an order (to have such power) under their hands in writing, which they never doubted of, seeing he affirmed he had power; and they both knew his honestie, and y^t he was specially imployed for their agente at this time. And he was as shorte in resting

on a verball order from them; which was now denied, when it came to a peticuler of loss; but he still affirmed the same. But they were both now taught how to deale in y^e world, especially with marchants, in such cases. But in y^e end this light upon these here also, for Mr. Allerton had gott all into his owne hand, and Mr. Hatherley was not able to pay it, except they would have uterlie undon him, as y^e sequell will manifest.

† This comission is abused; he never had any for shuch end, as they well knew, nether had they any to pay this

what he did you would stand too; we gave him none, and yet for his credite, and your saks, payed what bills he charged on us, &c. For y^t I write she was to acte tow parts, fishing & trade; beleve me, I never so much as thought of any perticuler trade, nor will side with any y^t doth, if I conceive it may wrong you; for I ever was against it, using these words: They will eate up and destroy y^e generall.

Other things I omite as tedious, and not very pertente. This was dated Nov^r. 19. 1631.

In an other leter bearing date y^e 24. of this month, be- ing an answer to y^e generall order, he hath these words: —

[184] For y^e White Angell, against which you write so earnest- ly, and say we thrust her upon you, contrary to y^e intende of y^e buyer, herin we say you forgett your selves, and doe us wrong. We will not take uppon us to devine what y^e thoughts or intents of y^e buyer was, but what he spack we heard, and that we will affirme, and make good against any y^t oppose it; which is, y^t unles shee were bought, and shuch a course taken, Ashley could not be supplied; and againe, if he weer not supplied, we could not be satisfied what we were out for you. And further, you were not able to doe it; and he gave some reasons which we spare to relate, unless by your unreasonable refusall you will force us, and so hasten y^t fire which is a kindling too fast already, &c.

*Out of another of his, bearing date Jan. 2. 1631.**

We purpose to keep y^e Freidship and y^e Whit Angell, for y^e last year viages, on the generall accounte, hoping together they will rather produse profite then loss, and breed less confu- tion in our accounts, and less disturbance in our afflictions. As for y^e White Angell, though we layed out y^e money, and tooke bills of salle in our owne names, yet none of us had so much as a thought (I dare say) of deviding from you in any thing this year, because we would not have y^e world (I may say Bristoll) take notice of any breach betwixte M^r. Allerton and you, and he and us; and so disgrace him in his proceedings on in his in-

money, nor would have paid a peny, if they had not pleased for some other respecte.

* That is, January 2, 1631-2. — Prince.

tended viage. We have now let him y^e ship at 30^{li}. p^r month, by charter-partie, and bound him in a bond of a 1000^{li}. to performe covenants, and bring her to London (if God please). And what he brings in her for you, shall be marked wth your marke, and bills of laden taken, & sent in Mr. Winslows letter, who is this day riding to Bristoll about it. So in this viage, we deale & are with him as strangers. He hath brought in 3. books of accounts, one for y^e company, an other for Ashley's bussines, and y^e third for y^e Whit-Angell and Freidship. The books, or coppies, we purpose to send you, for you may discover y^e errours in them better then we. We can make it appear how much money he hath had of us, and you can charg him with all y^e beaver he hath had of you. The totall sume, as he hath put it, is 7103. 17. 1. Of this he hath expended, and given to Mr. Vines * & others, aboute 543^{li}. ode money, and then by your books you will find whether you had such, & so much goods, as he chargeth you with all; and this is all that I can say at presente concerning these accounts. He thought to dispatch them in a few howers, but he and Straton & Fogge were above a month aboute them; but he could not stay till we had examined them, for losing his fishing viage, which I fear he hath allready done, &c.

We blese God, who put both you & us in mind to send each to other, for verily had he rune on in that desperate & chargable course one year more, we had not been able to support him; nay, both he and we must have lyen in y^e ditch, and sunck under y^e burthen, &c. Had ther been an orderly course taken, and your bussines better managed, assuredly (by y^e blessing of God) you had been y^e ablest plantation that, as we think, or know, hath been undertaken by Englishmen, &c.

Thus farr of these letters of Mr. Sherley's.

[185] A few observations from y^e former letters, and then I shall set downe the simple truth of y^e things (thus in controversie betweene them), at least as farr as by any good evidence it could be made to appeare; and so labour to be breefe in so tedious and intricate a bussines, which hunge in expostulation betweene them many years before

* Doubtless Richard Vines, mentioned on page 191, note. — Ed.

y^e same was ended. That though ther will be often occasion to touch these things about other passages, yet I shall not neede to be large therin; doing it hear once for all.

First, it seemes to appere clearly that Ashley's bussines, and y^e buying of this ship, and y^e courses framed ther upon, were first contrived and proposed by M^r. Allerton, as also y^t the pleaes and pretences which he made, of y^e inabilitie of y^e plantation to repaye their moneys, &c., and y^e hops he gave them of doing it with profite, was more beleevd & rested on by them (at least some of them) then any thing y^e plantation did or said.

2. It is like, though M^r. Allerton might thinke not to wrong y^e plantation in y^e maine, yet his owne gaine and private ends led him a side in these things; for it came to be knowne, and I have it in a letter under M^r. Sherley's hand, that in y^e first 2. or 3. years of his imploymente, he had cleared up 400^{li}. and put it into a brew-house of M^r. Colliers in London, at first under M^r. Sherley's name, &c.; besids what he might have other wise. Againe, M^r. Sherley and he had perticuler dealings in some things; for he bought up y^e beaver that sea-men & other passengers brought over to Bristoll, and at other places, and charged y^e bills to London, which M^r. Sherley payed; and they got some time 50^{li}. a peece in a bargin, as was made knowne by M^r. Hatherley & others, besids what might be other wise; which might make M^r. Sherley harken unto him in many things; and yet I beleeve, as he in his forementioned leter write, he never would side in any perticuler trade w^{ch} he conceived would wrong y^e plantation, and eate up & destroy y^e generall.

3^{ly}. It may be perceived that, seeing they had done so much for y^e plantation, both in former adventures and late disbursements, and allso that M^r. Allerton was y^e first occasioner of bringing them upon these new designes, which at first seemed faire & profitable unto them, and unto which they agreed; but now, seeing them to turne to loss.

and decline to greater intanglements, they thought it more meete for y^e plantation to bear them, then them selves, who had borne much in other things allready, and so tooke advantage of such comission & power as M^r. Allerton had formerly had as their agente, to devolve these things upon them.

4th. With pitie and compassion (touching M^r. Allerton) I may say with y^e apostle to Timothy, 1. Tim. 6. 9. *They that will be rich fall into many temptations and snares, &c., and pearce them selves throw with many sorrows, &c. ; for the love of money is y^e roote of all evill,* v. 10. God give him to see y^e evill in his failings, that he may find mercie by repentance for y^e wrongs he hath done to any, and this pore plantation in spetiall. They that doe such things doe not only bring them selves into snares, and sorrows, but many with them, (though in an other kind,) as lamentable experience shows ; and it is too manifest in this bussines.

[186] Now about these ships & their setting forth, the truth, as farr as could be learned, is this. The motion about setting forth y^e fishing ship (caled y^e Frindship) came first from y^e plantation, and y^e reasons of it, as is before remembered ; but wholly left to them selves to doe or not to doe, as they saw cause. But when it fell into consideration, and y^e designe was held to be profitable and hopefull, it was propounded by some of them, why might not they doe it of them selves, seeing they must disburse all y^e money, and what need they have any referance to y^e plantation in y^t ; they might take y^e profite them selves, towards other losses, & need not let y^e plantation share therein ; and if their ends were other wise answered for their supplies to come too them in time, it would be well enough. So they hired her, & set her out, and fraighted her as full as she could carry with passengers goods y^t belonged to y^e Massachussets, which rise to a good sume of money ; intending to send y^e planta-

tions supply in y^e other ship. The effecte of this M^r. Hatherley not only declared afterward upon occasion, but affirmed upon othe, taken before y^e Gov^r & Dep^t: Gov^r of y^e Massachusets, M^r. Winthrop & M^r. Dudley: That this ship-Friendship was not sett out nor intended for y^e joynt partnership of y^e plantation, but for y^e perticuler accounte of M^r. James Sherley, M^r. Beachampe, M^r. Andrews, M^r. Allerton, & him selfe. This deposition was taken at Boston y^e 29. of Aug: 1639. as is to be seen under their hands; besides some other concurent testimonies declared at severall times to sundrie of them.

About y^e Whit-Angell, though she was first bought, or at least the price beaten, by M^r. Allerton (at Bristoll), yet that had been nothing if M^r. Sherley had not liked it, and disbursed y^e money. And that she was not intended for y^e plantation appears by sundrie evidences; * as, first, y^e bills of sale, or charterparties, were taken in their owne names, without any mention or refferance to y^e plantation at all; viz. M^r. Sherley, M^r. Beachampe, M^r. Andrews, M^r. Denison, and M^r. Allerton; for M^r. Hatherley fell off, and would not joyne with them in this. That she was not bought for their accounte, M^r. Hatherley tooke his oath before y^e parties afforesaid, y^e day and year above writen.

M^r. Allerton tooke his oath to like effecte concerning this ship, the Whit-Angell, before y^e Gov^r & Deputie, the 7. of Sep: 1639. and likewise deposed, y^e same time, that M^r. Hatherley and him selfe did, in the behalfe of them selves and y^e said M^r. Sherley, M^r. Andrews, & M^r. Beachampe, agree and undertake to discharge, and save harmless, all y^e rest of y^e partners & purchasers, of and from y^e said losses of Freindship for 200^{li}., which was to be discounted therupon; as by ther depositions (which are in

* About y^e Whit-Angell they all mette at a certaine taverne in London, wher they had a diner prepared, and had a conference with a factore aboute

selling of her in Spaine, or at Port a porte, as hath been before mentioned; as M^r. Hatherley manifested, & M^r. Allerton could not deny.

writing) may appeare more at large, and some other depositions & other testimonies by Mr. Winslow,* &c. But I suppose these may be sufficient to evince the truth in these things, against all pretences to y^e contrary. And yet the burthen lay still upon y^e plantation; or, to speake more truly and rightly, upon those few that were ingaged for all, for they were faine to wade through these things without any help from any.

[187] Concerning Mr. Allerton's accounts, they were so larg and intreicate, as they could not well understand them, much less examine & correcte them, without a great deale of time & help, and his owne presence, which was now hard to gett amongst them; and it was 2. or 3. years before they could bring them to any good pass, but never make them perfecte. I know not how it came to pass, or what misterie was in it, for he tooke upon him to make up all accounts till this time, though Mr. Sherley was their agente to buy & sell their goods, and did more then he therin; yet he past in accounts in a maner for all disbursements, both concerning goods bought, which he never saw, but were done when he was hear in y^e cuntrie or at sea; and all y^e expences of y^e Leyden people, done by others in his absence; the charges aboute y^e patente, &c. In all which he made them debtore to him above 300^{li}. and demanded paimente of it. But when things came to scanning, he was found above 2000^{li}. debtore to them, (this wherin Mr. Hatherley & he being joyntly ingaged, which he only had, being included,) besids I know not how

* Mr. Winslow deposed, y^e same time, before y^e Govt afore said, &c. that when he came into England, and y^e partners inquired of y^e success of y^e Whit Angell, which should have been laden wth bass and so sent for Port, of Porting-gall, and their ship & goods to be sould; having informed them that they were like to faile in their lading of bass, that then Mr. James Sherley used these termes: Feck, we must make one ac-

counte of all; and ther upon presed him, as agente for y^e partners in New-England, to accepte y^e said ship Whit-Angell, and her accounte, into y^e joynte partner-ship; which he refused, for many reasons; and after received instructions from New-Engl: to refuse her if she should be offered, which instructions he shewed them; and whereas he was often pressed to accept her, he ever refused her, &c.

much y^t could never be cleared ; and interest moneys which ate them up, which he never accounted. Also they were faine to alow such large bills of charges as were intolerable ; the charges of y^e patent came to above 500^{li}. and yet nothing done in it but what was done at first without any confirmation ; 30^{li}. given at a clape, and 50^{li}. spent in a journey. No marvell therefore if M^r. Sherley said in his leter, if their bussines had been better managed, they might have been y^e richest plantation of any English at y^t time. Yea, he scrued up his poore old father in law's accounte to above 200^{li}. and brought it on y^e generall accounte, and to befreind him made most of it to arise out of those goods taken up by him at Bristoll, at 50. per cent., because he knew they would never let it lye on y^e old man, when, alas ! he, poore man, never dreamte of any such thing, nor y^t what he had could arise nere y^t valew ; but thought that many of them had been freely bestowed on him & his children by M^r. Allerton. Nither in truth did they come nere y^t valew in worth, but y^t sume was blowne up by interest & high prises, which y^e company did for y^e most parte bear, (he deserving farr more,) being most sory that he should have a name to have much, when he had in effecte litle.

This year also M^r. Sherley sent over an accounte, which was in a maner but a cash accounte what M^r. Allerton had had of them, and disbursed, for which he referd to his accounts ; besids an account of beaver sould, which M^r. Winslow & some others had carried over, and a large supply of goods which M^r. Winslow had sent & brought over, all which was comprised in y^t accounte, and all y^e disbursments aboute y^e Freindship, & Whit-Angell, and what concerned their accounts from first to last ; or any thing else he could charg y^e partners with. So they were made debtor in y^e foote of that accounte 4770^{li}. 19. 2.*

* So as a while before, wheras their great care was how to pay the purchase, and those other few debts which were upon them, now it was with them

besids 1000^{li}. still due for y^e purchase yet unpaid; notwithstanding all y^e beaver, and returns that both Ashley & they had made, which were not small.

[188] In these accounts of M^r. Sherley's some things were obscure, and some things twice charged, as a 100. of Bastable ruggs which came in y^e Freindship, & cost 75^{li}., charged before by M^r. Allerton, and now by him againe, with other perticulers of like nature doubtfull, to be twice or thrise charged; as also a sume of 600^{li}. which M^r. Allerton deneyed, and they could never understand for what it was. They sent a note of these & such like things afterward to M^r. Sherley by M^r. Winslow; but (I know not how it came to pass) could never have them explained.

Into these deepe sumes had M^r. Allerton rune them in tow years, for in y^e later end of y^e year 1628. all their debts did not amounte to much above 400^{li}., as was then noted; and now come to so many thousands. And wheras in y^e year 1629. M^r. Sherley & M^r. Hatherley being at Bristoll, and write a large letter from thence, in which they had given an account of y^e debts, and what sumes were then disbursed, M^r. Allerton never left begging & intreating of them till they had put it out. So they bloted out 2. lines in y^e leter in which y^e sumes were contained, and write upon it so as not a word could be perceived; as since by them was confessed, and by y^e leters may be seene.* And thus were they kept hoodwinckte, till now they were so deeply ingaged. And wheras M^r. Sherley did so earnestly press y^e M^r. Allerton might be sent over to finish y^e great bussines aboute y^e patente, as may be seen

as it was some times with Saule's father, who left caring for y^e Asses, and sorrowed for his sonn. 1. Sam. 10. 2. So that which before they looked at as a heave burthen, they now esteeme but a small thing and a light mater, in comparison of what was now upon

them. And thus y^e Lord oftentimes deals with his people to teach them, and humble them, that he may doe them good in y^e later end.

* See Bradford's Letter-Book, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 72, note. — Ed.

in his leter write 1629. as is before recorded,* and y^t they should be earnest wth his wife to suffer him to goe, &c., he hath since confessed by a letter under my hands, that it was M^r. Allerton's owne doings, and not his, and he made him write his words, & not his owne. The patent was but a pretence, and not y^e thing. Thus were they abused in their simplicitie, and no beter then bought & sould, as it may seeme.

And to mend y^e matter, M^r. Allerton doth in a sorte wholly now deserte them; having brought them into y^e briers, he leaves them to gett out as they can. But God crost him mightily, for he having hired y^e ship of M^r. Sherly at 30^{li}. a month, he set forth againe with a most wicked and drunken crue,† and for covetousnes sake did so over lade her, not only filling her hould, but so stufed her betweene decks, as she was walte, and could not bear sayle, and they had like to have been cast away at sea, and were forced to put for Millford Havene, and new-stow her, & put some of ther ordnance & more heavie goods in y^e botome; which lost them time, and made them come late into y^e countrie, lose ther season, and made a worse viage then y^e year before. But being come into y^e countrie, he sells trading comodities to any y^t will buy, to y^e great prejudice of y^e plantation here; but that which is y^e worse, what he could not sell, he trustes; and sets up a company of base felows and maks them traders, to rune into every hole, & into y^e river of Kenebeck, to gleane away y^e trade from y^e house ther, aboute y^e patente & priviledge wherof he had dasht away so much money of [189] theirs here; and now what in him lay went aboute to take away y^e benefite therof, and to overthrow them. Yea, not only this, but he furnishes a company, and joyns with some consorts, (being now deprived of Ashley at Penobscote,) and sets up a trading house beyoned Penobscote.

* See p. 252. — Ed.

† In the beginning of 1632. — *Prince*.

to cute of y^e trade from thence also. But y^e French perceiving that that would be greatly to their damage allso, they came in their begining before they were well settled, and displanted them, slue 2. of their men, and tooke all their goods to a good valew, y^e loss being most, if not all, M^r. Allerton's; for though some of them should have been his partners, yet he trusted them for their partes; the rest of y^e men were sent into France, and this was the end of y^r projecte.* The rest of those he trusted, being lose and drunken fellows, did for y^e most parte but cousen & cheate him of all they got into their hands; that howsoever he did his friends some hurte hereby for y^e presente, yet he gate litle good, but wente by y^e loss by Gods just hand. After in time, when he came to Plimoth, y^e church caled him to accounte for these, and other his grosse miscarriages; he confessed his faulte, and promised better walking, and that he would wind him selfe out of these courses as soone as he could, &c.

This year also M^r. Sherley would needs send them over a new-accountante; he had made mention of such a thing y^e year before, but they write him word, that their charge was great allready, and they neede not increase it, as this would; but if they were well delte with, and had their goods well sent over, they could keep their accounts hear them selves. Yet he now sente one, which they did not refuse, being a yonger brother of M^r. Winslows, whom they had been at charge to instructe at London before he came. He came over in the White Angell with M^r. Aller-

* This trading-house was at Machias. The notice of its destruction at this place is a little in anticipation of events in the narrative, and probably so intended by our author. Under date of November, 1633, Winthrop writes: "News of the taking of Machias by the French. Mr. Allerton of Plymouth, and some others, had set up a trading wigwam there, and left in it five men and store of commodities. La Tour,

Governor of the French in those parts, making claim to the place, came to displant them, and, finding resistance, killed two of the men, and carried away the other three, and the goods." Some of the goods destroyed belonged to Richard Vines, who subsequently made complaint against La Tour while at Boston in 1643. The latter gives his own account of this affair, which may be seen in Winthrop, II. 125, 127. — Ed.

ton, and ther begane his first imploymente; for though Mr. Sherley had so farr befreinded Mr. Allerton, as to cause Mr. Winslow to ship y^e supply sente to y^e partners here in this ship, and give him 4^{li}. p^r tune, wheras others carried for 3. and he made them pay their freight ready downe, before y^e ship wente out of y^e harbore, wheras others payed upon certificate of y^e goods being delivered, and their freight came to upward of 6. score pounds, yet they had much adoe to have their goods delivered, for some of them were chainged, as bread & pease; they were forced to take worse for better, neither could they ever gett all. And if Josias Winslow* had not been ther, it had been worse; for he had y^e invoice, and order to send them to y^e trading houses.

This year† their house at Penobscott was robbed by y^e French, and all their goods of any worth they carried away, to y^e value of 400. or 500^{li}. as y^e cost first peny worth; in beaver 300^{li}. waight; and y^e rest in trading goods, as coats, ruggs, blankett, biskett, &c. It was in this maner. The m^r. of y^e house, and parte of y^e company with him, were come with their vessell to y^e westward to fecth a supply of goods which was brought over for them. In y^e mean time comes a smale French ship into y^e harbore (and amongst y^e company was a false Scott); they pretended they were nuly come from y^e sea, and knew not wher they were, and that their vesell was very leake, and desired they might hale her a shore and stop their leaks. And many French complements they used, and congees they made; and in y^e ende, seeing but 3. or 4. simple men, yⁱ were servants, and by this Scoth-man understanding that y^e maister & ye rest of y^e company were gone from home, they fell of comending their gunes and muskets, that lay upon racks by y^e wall side, and tooke them downe

* See brief notice of him in Russell's Guide to Plymouth, p. 241. — Ed.

† N. B. Governor Winthrop places

this in June, 1632, that is, I suppose, the news at Boston of this transaction. — Prince.

to looke on them, asking if they were charged. And when they were possesst of them, one presents a peece ready charged against y^e servants, and another a pistoll; and bid them not sturr, but quietly deliver them their goods, and carries some of y^e men aborde, & made y^e other help to carry away y^e goods. And when they had tooke what they pleased, they sett them at liberty, and wente their way, with this mocke, biding them tell their m^r. when he came, that some of y^e Ile of Rey gentlemen had been ther.*

† This year, on S^r Christopher Gardener, being, as him selfe said, descended of y^t house y^t the Bishop of Winchester came of (who was so great a persecutor of Gods saincts in Queene Maries days), and being a great traveler, received his first honour of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made Knight of y^e Sepulcher ther. He came into these parts under pretence of forsaking y^e world, and to live a private life, in a godly course, not unwilling to put him selfe upon any meane imployments, and take any paines for his living; and some time offered him selfe to joyne to y^e churchs in sundry places. He brought over with him a servante or 2. and a comly yonge woman, whom he caled his cousin, but it was suspected, she (after y^e Italian maner) was his concubine. Living at y^e Massachusetts, for some miscariages which he should have answered, he fled away from authority, and gott amonge y^e Indeans of these parts; they sent after him, but could not gett him, and promissed some reward to those y^t should find him. The Indeans came to y^e Gov^r here, and tould wher he was, and asked if they might kill him; he tould them no, by no means, but if they could take him and

* The above paragraph was written on the reverse of page 188 of the original manuscript. — Ed.

† The following account of Sir Christopher Gardiner, with the documents accompanying it, extending to page 298,

does not appear in the text of the original manuscript, — having been perhaps inadvertently omitted, — but was written on the reverse of pages 189–191. Morton erroneously places this under the year 1632. — Ed.

bring him hither, they should be payed for their paines. They said he had a gunc & a rapier, & he would kill them if y^e went aboute it; and y^e Massachuset Indcans said they might kille him. But y^e Gov^r tould them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunitie, & take him. And so they did, for when they light of him by a river side, he got into a canowe to get from them, & when they came nere him, whilst he presented his peece at them to keep them of, the streame carried y^e canow against a rock, and tumbled both him & his peece & rapier into y^e water; yet he got out, and having a litle dagger by his side, they durst not close with him, but getting longe pols they soone beat his dagger out of his hand, so he was glad to yeeld; and they brought him to y^e Gov^r. But his hands and armes were swollen & very sore with y^e blowes they had given him. So he used him kindly, & sent him to a lodging wher his armes were bathed and anoynted, and he was quickly well againe, and blamed y^e Indcans for beating him so much. They said that they did but a litle whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those y^e made his bed found a litle note booke that by accidente had slipt out of his pockett, or some private place, in which was a memoriall what day he was reconciled to y^e pope & church of Rome, and in what universitie he tooke his scapula, and such & such degrees. It being brought to y^e Gov^r, he kept it, and sent y^e Gov^r of y^e Massachuset word of his taking, who sent for him.* So y^e Gov^r sent him and these notes to y^e Gov^r ther, who tooke it very thankfully; but after he gott for England, he shewed his malice, but God prevented him.

* It appears from Winthrop that Gardiner "was taken by the Indians about Namasket, and brought to Plymouth, and from thence he was brought, by Captain Underhill and his Lieutenant, Dudley, May 4, to Boston." The curious reader will find all that can now be known of this somewhat mysterious

personage by consulting Savage's Winthrop, I. 51, 57, 100, 102, 106; Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in Young's Chron. of Mass., pp. 333, 335; 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 240, 323; and Morton's New English Canaan, pp. 182-185.—Ed.

See y^e Gov^r leter on y^e other side.*

S^r: It hath pleased God to bring S^r. Christopher Gardener safe to us, with thos that came with him. And howsoever I never intended any hard measure to him, but to respecte and use him according to his qualitie, yet I let him know your care of him, and y^t he shall speed y^e better for your mediation. It was a spetiall providence of God to bring those notes of his to our hands; I desire y^t you will please to speake to all y^t are privie to them, not to discovere them to any one, for y^t may frustrate y^e means of any further use to be made of them. The good Lord our God who hath allways ordered things for y^e good of his poore churches here, directe us in this arighte, and dispose it to a good issue. I am sorie we put you to so much trouble about this gentleman, espetially at this time of great imploymente, but I know not how to avoyed it. I must againe intreate you, to let me know what charge & troble any of your people have been at aboute him, y^t it may be recompenced. So with the true affection of a frind, desiring all happines to your selfe & yours, and to all my worthy friends with you (whom I love in y^e Lord), I comende you to his grace & good providence, & rest

Your most assured friend,

JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, May 5. 1631.

By occation wherof I will take a litle libertie to declare what fell out by this mans means & malice, complying with others. And though I doubt not but it will be more fully done by my honourd friends, whom it did more directly concerne, and have more perticuler knowledg of y^e matter, yet I will here give a hinte of y^e same, and Gods providence in preventing y^e hurte that might have come by y^e same. The intelligence I had by a letter from my much hon^d and beloved freind, M^r. John Winthrop, Gov^r of y^e Massachusets.

S^r: Upon a petition exhibited by S^r. Christo: Gardner, S^r. Ferd: Gorges, Captaine Masson, &c., against you and us, the

* That is, in the original manuscript. — Ed.

cause was heard before y^e lords of y^e Privie Counsell, and after reported to y^e king, the success wherof maks it evident to all, that y^e Lord hath care of his people hear. The passages are admirable, and too long to write. I hartily wish an opportunitie to imparte them unto you, being māy sheets of paper. But y^e conclusion was (against all mens expectation) an order for our incouragmente, and much blame and disgrace upon y^e adversaries, w^{ch} calls for much thankfullnes from us all, which we purpose (y^e Lord willing) to express in a day of thanks-giving to our mercifull God, (I doubt not but you will consider, if it be not fitt for you to joyne in it,) who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up, by an abundante rejoycing, in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that w^{ch} our enemies builde their hopes upon to ruine us by, He hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further aquainte you, when occasion shall serve.

The copy of y^e order follows.

At y^e courte held at Whit-hall y^e 19. Jan: 1632.*

Present

<i>Sigillum</i>	Lord Privie Seale	Lord Cottinton
	Ea: of Dorsett	Mr. Tre ^r
	Lo: Vi: Falkland	Mr. Vic Chamb ^r
	Lo: Bp: of London	Mr. Sec: Cooke

Maister Sec: Windebanck

Wheras his Mat^{ie} hath latly been informed of great distraction and much disorder in y^t plantation in y^e parts of America called New-England, which, if they be true, & suffered to rune on, would tende to y^e great dishonour of this kingdome, and utter ruine of that plantation. For prevention wherof, and for y^e orderly settling of goverment, according to y^e intention of those patents which have been granted by his Mat^{ie} and from his late royall father king James, it hath pleased his Mat^{ie} that y^e lords & others of his most honourable Privie Counsell, should take y^e same into consideration. Their lordships in y^e first place thought fitt to make a comitie of this bord, to take examination of y^e matters informed; which comitties having called diverse of y^e principall adventurers in y^t plantation, and heard those

* That is, 1633, new style; this paper was received at Boston in May, 1633. Winthrop, I. 102, 103.—Ed.

that are complanants against them, most of the things informed being denyed, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from y^t place, which required a long expence of time; and at presente their lordships finding the adventurers were upon dispatch of men, victles, and marchandice for y^t place, all which would be at a stand, if y^e adventurers should have discouragemente, or take suspition that the state hear had no good opinion of y^t plantation; their lordships, not laying the faulte or fancies (if any be) of some perticuler men upon the generall govermente, or principall adventurers, (which in due time is further to be inquired into,) have thought fitt in y^e meane time to declare, that the appearences were so faire, and hopes so greate, y^t the countrie would prove both beneficiall to this 'kingdom, and profitable to y^e perticuler adventurers, as y^t the adventurers had cause to goe on cherfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when y^e patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patentees it is appointed, his Majestie would not only maintaine the liberties & privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good govermente, prosperitie, and comforte of his people ther of that place, &c.

WILLIAM TRUMBALL.

Anno Dom: 1632.

M^r. ALLERTON, returning for England,* litle regarded his bound of a 1000^{li}. to performe covenants; for wheras he was bound by y^e same to bring y^e ship to [190] London, and to pay 30^{li}. per month for her hire, he did neither of boath, for he carried her to Bristoll againe, from whence he intended to sett her out againe, and so did y^e 3. time, into these parts (as after will appear); and though she had been 10. months upon y^e former viage, at 30^{li}. p^r month, yet he never payed peney for hire. It should seeme he knew well enough how to deale with M^r. Sherley. And M^r. Sherley, though he would needs tye her &

* In the fall of 1632. — *Prince.*

her accounte upon y^e generall, yet he would dispose of her as him selfe pleased; for though Mr. Winslow had in their names protested against y^e receiving her on y^t accounte, or if ever they should hope to preveil in shuch a thing, yet never to suffer Mr. Allerton to have any more to doe in her, yet he y^e last year* let her wholly unto him, and injoynd them to send all their supplye in her to their prejudice, as is before noted. And now, though he broke his bonds, kepte no covenante, paid no hire, nor was ever like to keep covenants, yet now he goes and sells him all, both ship, & all her accounts, from first to last (and in effecte he might as well have given him y^e same); and not only this, but he doth as good as provide a sanctuary for him, for he gives him one years time to prepare his accounte, and then to give up y^e same to them here; and then another year for him to make paymente of what should be due upon y^t accounte. And in y^e mean time writs earnestly to them not to interupte or hinder him from his bussines, or stay him aboute clearing accounts, &c.; so as he in y^e mean time gathers up all monies due for fraighte, and any other debtes belonging either to her, or y^e Frindship's accounts, as his owne pertieuler; and after, sells ship, & ordnans, fish, & what he had raised, in Spaine, according to y^r first designe, in effecte; and who had, or what became of y^e money, he best knows. In y^e mean time their hands were bound, and could doe nothing but looke on, till he had made all away into other mens hands (save a few catle & a litle land & some small maters he had here at Plimoth), and so in y^e end removed, as he had allready his person, so all his from hence.† This will better appere by Mr. Sherley's leter.

* That is, 1632. — *Prince*.

† The mystery which has hitherto enveloped the relations of Mr. Allerton with the Colony of Plymouth is now wholly dispelled. The reasons for the

dissatisfaction expressed towards him, and for his dismissal from the service of the undertakers, — concerning which Prince had preserved a few brief passages from this History, — are now no

Sr: These few lines are further to give you to understand, that seeing you & we, that never differed yet but aboute y^e White-Angell, which somewhat troubleth us, as I perceiue it doth you. And now M^r. Allerton beeing here, we have had some conferrance with him about her, and find him very willing to give you & us all contente y^t possiblie he can, though he burthen him selfe. He is contente to take y^e White-Angell wholly on him selfe, notwithstanding he mett with pirates nere y^e coast of Ierland, which tooke away his best sayles & other provisions from her; so as verily if we should now sell her, she would yeeld but a small price, besids her ordnance. And to set her forth againe with fresh money we would not, she being now at Bristoll. Wherefore we thought it best, both for you & us, M^r. Allerton being willing to take her, to accepte of his bond of tow thousand pounds, to give [191] you a true & perfecte accounte, and take y^e whole charge of y^e Whit-Angell wholly to him selfe, from y^e first to y^e last. The accounte he is to make and perfecte within 12. months from y^e date of this letter, and then to pay you at 6. and 6. months after, what soever shall be due unto you and us upon the foote of y^t accounte. And verily, notwithstanding all y^e disasters he hath had, I am perswaded he hath enough to pay all men here and ther. Only they must have patience till he can gather in what is due to him ther. I doe not write this slightly, but upon some ground of what I have seen (and

longer a matter of conjecture. It is uncertain at what precise time he finally withdrew from the colony. His wife Fear died at Plymouth in the latter part of 1634, and he is found at Marblehead soon after, (residing, it is supposed, with his son-in-law, Moses Maverick,) as, in the spring of 1635, he was notified by the authorities of Massachusetts that they desired his removal from that place. His name, however, appears on the list of freemen at Plymouth as late as March 7, 1636-7. From some evidence, he would seem to have been a resident of New Amsterdam in 1613, and in a document recorded in the Old Colony Records, bearing date 27th October, 1616, he styles himself as "of New Amsterdam in the province of New Netherlands." He is traced to New Haven soon after, at which place

he died before the 12th of February, 1658-9, leaving a son, Isaac. After removing from Plymouth, his career as a merchant was still attended with misfortunes, and at his death he left an insolvent estate. See p. 256; List of Passengers in the Mayflower, in Appendix: Davis's ed. of the Memorial, Appendix, pp. 391-394; Records of Mass., I. 140, 147; Winthrop, I. 373, 386, II. 96, 210; 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII. 242-249, 301-304; Cushman General., pp. 618-620.

An error of the late Dr. Thatcher, in his History of Plymouth, in stating that Allerton was left out of the office of magistrate, at a later period in the history of this colony, on account of his opposition to the treatment of the Quakers, is noticed on the following page.—Ed.

perhaps you know not of) under y^e hands & seals of some, &c.
I rest

Your assured friend,

JAMES SHERLEY.

Des: 6. 1632.

But heres not a word of y^e breach of former bonds & covenants, or paimente of y^e ships hire; this is passt by as if no such thing had been; besides what bonds or obligments so ever they had of him, ther never came any into y^e hands or sight of y^e partners here. And for this y^t M^r. Sherley seems to intimate (as a secrete) of his abilitie, under y^e hands & seals of some, it was 'but a trick, having gathered up an accounte of what was owing from such base fellows as he had made traders for him, and other debts; and then got M^r. Mahue, & some others, to affirme under their hand & seale, that they had seen shuch accounts y^t were due to him.

M^r. Hatherley came over againe this year, but upon his owne occasions, and begane to make preparation to plant & dwell in y^e countrie.* He with his former dealings had wound in what money he had in y^e patnership into his owne hands, and so gave off all partnership (excepte in name), as was found in y^e issue of things; neither did he medle, or take any care aboute y^e same; only he was troubled about his ingagmente aboute y^e Friendship, as will after appeare. And now partly aboute y^t accounte, in some reconings betweene M^r. Allerton and him, and some debts y^t M^r. Allerton otherwise owed him upon dealing between

* Arriving at Boston, June 5th, 1632. — *Prince*.

Mr. Hatherly came in the Charles, of Barnstable (Eng.), which sailed thence, April 10th. He was one of the early settlers of Scituate, and was an Assistant in the government of Plymouth for a number of years. On the re-election of Prence as Governor, in 1638, Mr. Hatherly and James Cudworth were omitted as Assistants, on account of their opposition to the severe proceedings

against the Quakers. Dr. Thatcher, in his History of Plymouth (p. 115, 2d ed.), erroneously substitutes the name of Allerton for Hatherly, as having been, for the above reason, left out of office at this time. Allerton left the Plymouth colony nearly, if not quite, twenty years before the Quakers arrived in the country. See Savage's Winthrop, l. 77, 78; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, p. 276; Deane's Scituate, pp. 3-6, 280-283. — *Ed.*

them in perticuler, he drue up an accounte of above 2000^{li.}, and would faine have ingaged y^e partners here with it, because M^r. Allerton had been their agent. But they tould him they had been fool'd longe enough with such things, and shewed him y^t it no way belonged to them; but tould him he must looke to make good his ingagment for y^e Freindship, which caused some trouble betweene M^r. Allerton and him.

M^r. William Peirce did y^e like, M^r. Allerton being wound into his debte also upon particuler dealings; as if they had been bound to make good all mens debts. But they easily shooke off these things. But M^r. Allerton herby rane into much trouble & vexation, as well as he had troubled others, for M^r. Denison sued him for y^e money he had disbursed for y^e 6. part of y^e Whit-Angell, & recovered y^e same with damages.*

Though y^e partners were thus plüged into great ingagments, & oppresed with unjust debts, yet y^e Lord prospered their trading, that they made yearly large returnes, and had soone wound them selves out of all, if yet they had otherwise been well delt with all; as will more appear here after. [192] Also y^e people of y^e plantation begane to grow in their owtward estats, by reason† of y^e flowing of many people into y^e cuntrie, espetially into y^e Bay of y^e Massachusets; by which means corne & catle rose to a great prise, by w^{ch} many were much inriched, and comodities grue plentifull; and yet in other regards this benefite turned to their hurte, and this accession of strength to their weaknes. For now as their stocks increased, and y^e increse vendible, ther was no longer any holding them togeather, but now they must of necessitie goc to their great lots; they could not other wise keep their

* The following is from the Mass. Colony Records, I. 122, July 1, 1634: "It is ordered, that Mr. Isaac Allerton shall pay the sum of xli^s. to Mr. William

Dennison, for charges in a suite about a debt of an hundreth pound." — Ed.

† *Rea-* in the manuscript. — Ed.

katle; and having oxen growne, they must have land for plowing & tillage. And no man now thought he could live, except he had catle and a great deale of ground to keep them; all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they were scatered all over y^e bay, quickly, and y^e towne, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thine, and in a short time almost desolate. And if this had been all, it had been less, thoug to much; but y^e church must also be devided, and those y^t had lived so long togeather in Christian & comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divissions. First, those that lived on their lots on y^e other side of y^e bay (called Duxberie) they could not long bring their wives & children to y^e publick worship & church meetings here, but with such burthen, as, growing to some competente number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of them selves; and so they were dismist (about this time), though very unwillingly. But to touch this sadd matter, and handle things together that fell out afterward. To prevent any further scatering from this place, and weakening of y^e same, it was thought best to give out some good farms to spetiall persons, y^t would promise to live at Plimoth, and lickly to be helpfull to y^e church or comonewelh, and so to tye y^e lands to Plimoth as farmes for the same; and ther they might keepe their catle & tillage by some servants, and retaine their dwellings here. And so some spetiall lands were granted at a place generall, called Greens Harbor,* wher no allotments had been in y^e former divission, a plase very weell meadowed, and fitt to keep & rear catle, good store. But alas! this remedy proved worse then y^e disease; for wthin a few years those that had thus gott footing ther rente them selves away, partly by force, and partly wearing y^e rest with importu-

* Green's Harbor was incorporated into a township, in 1640, by the name of "Rexhame," and was soon after

called Marshfield. See Plymouth Colony Laws, Brigham's ed., pp. 68, 69. —Ed.

nitie and pleas of necessitie, so as they must either suffer them to goe; or live in continuall opposition and contention. And others still, as y^e conceived them selves straitened, or to want accomodation, break away under one pretence or other, thinking their owne conceived necessitie, and the example of others, a warrente sufficiente for them. And this, I fear, will be y^e ruine of New-England, at least of y^e churches of God ther, & will provock y^e Lords displeasure against them.

[193] This year, M^r. William Perce* came into y^e cuntry, & brought goods and passengers, in a ship caled y^e Lyon, which belonged cheefly to M^r. Sherley, and y^e rest of y^e London partners, but these hear had nothing to doe with her. In this ship (besides beaver which they had sent homé before) they sent upward's of 800^{li}. in her, and some otter skines; and also y^e coppies of M^r. Allertons accounts, desiring that they would also peruse & examene them, and rectifie shuch things as they should find amise in them; and rather because they were better acquaynted with y^e goods bought ther, and y^e disbursments made, then they could bee here; yea, a great part were done by them selves, though M. Allerton brought in y^e accounte, and sundry things seemed to them obscure and had need of clearing. Also they sente a booke of exceptions against his accounts, in such things as they could manifest, and doubted not but they might adde more therunto. And also shewed them how much M^r. Allerton was debtor to y^e accounte; and desired, seeing they had now put y^e ship

* Winthrop notices his arrival at this time under date Sept. 16, "being the Lord's day. In the evening, Mr. Peirce, in the ship Lyon, arrived, and came to an anchor before Boston. He brought one hundred and twenty-three passengers, whereof fifty children, all in health; and lost not one person by the way, save his carpenter, who fell overboard as he was caulking a port. They had been twelve weeks aboard, and eight

weeks from the Land's End." One of the original bills of lading brought by this ship at this time, consigning "two dry fats of goods" to "John Winthrop the younger," and dated "London, this 22d of June," is preserved in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See Winthrop, I. 90; Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society, April 12th, 1855, pp. 11, 12. — Ed.

White-Angell, and all, wholly into his power, and tyed their hands here, that they could not call him to accounte for any thinge, till y^e time was expired which they had given him, and by that time other men would get their debts of him, (as s^ume had done already by suing him,) and he would make all away here quickly out of their reach; and therefore prayed them to looke to things, and gett paymente of him ther, as it was all y^e reason they should, seeing they kept all y^e bonds & covenants they made with him in their owne hands; and here they could doe nothing by y^e course they had taken, nor had any thing to show if they should goe aboute it. But it pleased God, this ship, being first to goe to Verginia before she wente home, was cast away on y^e coast, not farr from Virginia, and their beaver was all lost* (which was y^e first loss they sustained in that kind); but M^r. Peirce & y^e men saved their lives, and also their leters, and gott into Virginia, and so safly home. Y^e accounts were now sent from hence againe to them. And thus much of y^e passages of this year.

A part of M^r. Peirce his leter† from Virginia.

It was dated in Des: 25. 1632. and came to their hand y^e 7. of Aprill, before they heard any thing from England.

Dear freinds, &c. Y^e bruit of this fatall stroke that y^e Lord hath brought both on me and you all will come to your ears before this cometh to your hands, (it is like,) and therefore I shall not need to inlarg in perticulers, &c. My whole estate (for y^e most parte) is taken away; and so yours, in a great measure, by this and your former losses [he means by y^e French & M^r. Allerton].‡ It is time to looke aboute us, before y^e wrath of y^e Lord breake forth to utter destruction. The good Lord give us all grace to search our harts and trie our ways, and turne unto

* See full account of the loss of this ship and cargo in Winthrop, I. 101.—Ed.

† This letter was written on the reverse of folio 192 of the original manu-

script, and may properly be inserted here.—Ed.

‡ The brackets are in the original manuscript.—Ed.

y^e Lord, and humble our selves under his mightie hand, and seeke atonement, &c. Dear freinds, you may know y^t all your beaver, and y^e books of your accounts, are swallowed up in y^e sea; your letters remaine with me, and shall be delivered, if God bring me home. But what should I more say? Have we lost our outward estates? yet a hapy loss if our soules may gaine; ther is yet more in y^e Lord Jehova than ever we had yet in y^e world. Oh that our foolish harts could yet be wained from y^e things here below, which are vanity and vexation of spirite; and yet we fooles catch after shadows, y^t flye away, & are gone in a momente, &c. Thus with my continuall remembrance of you in my poore desires to y^e throne of grace, beseeching God to renew his love & favoure towards you all, in & through y^e Lord Jesus Christ, both in spirituall & temporall good things, as may be most to the glory & praise of his name, and your everlasting good. So I rest,

Your afflicted brother in Christ,

WILLIAM PEIRCE.

Virginia, Des: 25. 1632.

Anno Dom: 1633.

THIS year M^r. Ed: Winslow* was chosen Governor.†

By the first returne this year, they had leters from M^r. Sherley of M^r. Allertons further ill success, and y^e loss by

* Bradford does not notice the return of Mr. Winslow from his visit to England in 1631. He came in the William and Francis, from London, which set sail March 9th, and arrived here June 5th, 1632 Winthrop, I. 78. — ED.

† Winthrop, under date January 1st, 1632-3, says: "Mr. Edward Winslow chosen Governor of Plymouth, Mr. Bradford having been Governor about ten years, and now by importunity gat off." At or about the same time a law was enacted, that whoever refused the office of Governor after election, unless he had held the place the foregoing year, should be amerced in twenty pounds sterling fine; and whoever refused the office of Assistant should be fined ten pounds.

The Assistants chosen this year were

William Bradford, Miles Standish, John Howland, John Alden, John Doan, Stephen Hopkins, William Gilson. Prior to this there is no record of those who were chosen to this office. We know from this History, that on the first election of Bradford as Governor, in 1621, Allerton was chosen his Assistant, and held the office, by re-election, for a number of years. In 1624, the number was increased to five, with which number, says Hubbard, "they rested contented till the year 1633, when two more were added." In an official letter written by Governor Bradford to Governor Winthrop, dated February 6, 1631-2, besides the signature of the Governor, it bears the names of Miles Standish, Samuel Fuller, John Alden, and Thomas Prence, who

Mr. Peirce, with many sadd complaints; but litle hope of any thinge to be gott of Mr. Allerton, or how their accounts might be either eased, or any way rectified by them ther; but now saw plainly y^e the burthen of all would be cast on their backs. The spetiall passages of his letters I shall here inserte, as shall be pertinente to these things; for though I am weary of this tedious & uncomfortable subjecte, yet for y^e clearing of y^e truth I am compelled to be more larg in y^e opening of these matters, upon w^{ch} [194] so much trouble hath insued, and so many hard censures have passed on both sids. I would not be partiall to either, but deliver y^e truth in all, and, as nere as I can, in their owne words and passages, and so leave it to the impartiall judgment of any that shall come to read, or veiw these things. His leters are as folow, dated June 24. 1633.

Loving friends, my last* was sente in y^e Mary & John,† by

were probably the Assistants at that time. Winslow, who was then absent, may have completed the number.

Respecting the time for the annual election of Governor and Assistants, we find in 1633, when the first record of the election of those officers appears, and in 1634, 1635, and 1636, that it took place at the General Court in January. They were to enter upon the duties of their office, however, on the ensuing March, which was the commencement of the civil year; though no particular day appears to have been assigned for that purpose. Prentice was elected Governor in 1634, "for the year following, and to enter upon the place the 1st of March or the 27th of the same." Bradford was chosen in 1635, and was to enter upon his duties on the first Tuesday in March. Winslow, in 1636, was to enter upon the place the 1st of March. In 1633, when Winslow was first chosen, he entered upon his duties at once. Bradford at that time had been Governor for twelve consecutive years, and "by importunity gat off." There is no record of their

proceedings in this respect prior to 1633, and all that is known is contained in this History and in Hubbard. In 1636, a law was enacted appointing the first Tuesday in March for the election of officers; and in 1642, "It is enacted, that the election court of choosing officers as Governor and Assistants shall be hereafter every first Tuesday in June, because that many are hindered from coming in March by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather ordinarily." In the code of 1658, this last provision is confirmed, prefaced by the following: "Whereas by the first associates of this government the courts of election were held in January annually, and afterwards in the month of March annually," &c., &c.

See pages 101, 156; Morton's Memorial, p. 89; Winthrop, I. 98; Plymouth Colony Laws, Brigham's ed., pp. 30, 36, 37, 73, 108; Plymouth Colony Records, in MS., Vol. I.; Hubbard, pp. 90, 91, 100; New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., II. 240-244. — Ed.

* March 22.

† Prince (II. 88) supposes this ship

Mr. William Collier,* &c. I then certified you of y^e great, & uncomfortable, and unseasonable loss you & we had, in y^e loss of Mr. Peirce his ship, y^e Lyon; but y^e Lords holy name be blessed, who gives & taks as it pleaseth him; his will be done, Amen. I then related unto you y^t fearfull accidente, or rather judgmente, y^e Lord pleased to lay on London Bridge, by fire,† and therin gave you a touch of my great loss; the Lord, I hope, will give me patience to bear it, and faith to trust in him, & not in these slippery and uncertaine things of this world.

I hope Mr. Allerton is nere upon sayle with you by this; but he had many disasters here before he could gett away; yet y^e last was a heavie one; his ship, going out of y^e harbor at Bristol, by stormie weather was so farr driven on y^e shore, as it cost him above 100^{li}. before shee could be gott off againe. Verily his case was so lamentable as I could not but afford him some help therin (and so did some were strangers to him); besids, your goods were in her, and if he had not been supported, he must have broke off his viage, and so loss could not have been avoyded on all sides. When he first bought her, I thinke he had made a saving match, if he had then sunck her, and never set her forth. I hope he sees y^e Lords hand against him, and will leave of these viages. I thinke we did well in parting with her; she would have been but a clogge to y^e accounte from time to time, and now though we shall not gett much by way of satisfaction, yet we shall lose no more. And now, as before I have writte, I pray you finish all y^e accounts and reconings with him there; for here he hath nothing, but many debtes that he stands ingaged to many men for. Besids, here is not a man y^t will spend a day, or scarce an hower, aboute y^e accounts but my selfe, and y^t bussines will require more time and help then I can afford. I shall not need to say any more; I hope you will doe y^t which shall be best & just, to which adde mercie, and consider his intente, though he failed in many perticulers, which now cannot be helped, &c.

To morrow, or next day at furthest, we are to pay 300^{li}. and

is the same as the "Mary and Jane," whose arrival, with 196 passengers, is mentioned by Winthrop (l. 102) under date May, 1633. — Ed.

* Mr. Collier first arrived in the country this year. He had been one of the earliest adventurers, and now came

to reside in the colony. In 1634, he was chosen an Assistant in the government, and was continued in office for many years. See Morton's Memorial, p. 91 et seq. — Ed.

† 1632-3, Feb. 11. D night till ♂ morning. (Laud's Diary.) — Prince.

Mr. Beachamp is out of y^e towne, yet y^e bussines I must doe. Oh the greefe & trouble y^t man, Mr. Allerton, hath brought upon you and us! I cannot forgett it, and to thinke on it draws many a sigh from my harte, and teares from my eyes. And now y^e Lord hath visited me with an other great loss, yet I can undergoe it with more patience. But this I have follishly pulled upon my selfe, &c. [And in another, he hath this passage:] * By Mr. Allertons faire propositions and large [195] promises, I have over rune my selfe; verily, at this time greefe hinders me to write, and tears will not suffer me to see; wherfore, as you love those that ever loved you, and y^t plantation, thinke upon us. Oh what shall I say of that man, who hath abused your trust and wronged our loves! but now to complaine is too late, nither can I complaine of your backwardnes, for I am perswaded it lys as heavie on your harts, as it doth on our purses or credites. And had y^e Lord sent Mr. Peirce safe home, we had eased both you and us of some of those debts; the Lord I hope will give us patience to bear these crosses; and that great God, whose care & providence is every where, and specially over all those that desire truly to fear and serve him, direct, guid, prosper, & blesse you so, as y^t you may be able (as I perswade my selfe you are willing) to discharge & take off this great & heavie burthen which now lyes upon me for your saks; and I hope in y^e ende for y^e good of you, and many thousands more; for had not you & we joyned & continued together, New-England might yet have been scarce knowne, I am perswaded, not so replenished & inhabited with honest English people, as it now is. The Lord increase & blesse them, &c. So, with my continuall praiers for you all, I rest

Your assured loving friend,

JAMES SHERLEY.

June 24. 1633.

By this it apperes when Mr. Sherly sould him y^e ship & all her accounts, it was more for Mr. Allertons advantage then theirs; and if they could get any there, well & good, for they were like to have nothing here. And what course was held to hinder them there, hath allready

* The brackets are in the original manuscript. — Ed.

beene manifested. And though M^r. Sherley became more sinsible of his owne condition, by these losses, and therby more sadly & plainly to complaine of M^r. Allerton, yet no course was taken to help them here, but all left unto them selves; not so much as to examene & rectifie y^e accounts, by which (it is like) some hundereds of pounds might have been taken off. But very probable it is, the more they saw was taken off, y^e less might come unto them selves. But I leave these maters, & come to other things.

M^r. Roger Williams* (a man godly & zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgmente) came over first to y^e Massachusets, but upon some discontente left y^t place, and came hither, (wher he was friēdly entertained, according to their poore abilitie,) and exercised his gifts amongst them, & after some time was admitted a member of y^e church; and his teaching well approved, for y^e benefite wherof I still blesse God, and am thankfull to him, even for his sharpest admonitions & reprovfs, so farr as they agreed with truth. He this year begane to fall into some strang oppiōns, and from opinion to practise; which caused some controversie betweene y^e church & him, and in y^e end some discontente on his parte, by occasion wherof he left them some thing abruptly. Yet after wards sued for his dismissal to y^e church of Salem, which was granted, with some caution to them concerning him, and what care they ought to have of him. But he soone fell into more things ther, both to their and y^e governments trouble [196] & disturbance. I shall not need to name perticulers, they are too well knowen now to all, though for a time y^e church here

* A Memoir of this distinguished man, by Professor Knowles, was published in 1834, and may confidently be referred to as having been prepared from original materials. This was followed in 1845 by the pleasing narra-

tive of Professor Gammell, in Sparks's American Biography. In 1853 appeared another Memoir of him by Romeo Elton, D. D., containing some facts and correspondence never before published. — Ed.

wente under some hard censure by his occasion, from some that afterwards smarted them selves. But he is to be pitied, and prayed for, and so I shall leave y^e matter, and desire y^e Lord to shew him his errors, and reduse him into y^e way of truth, and give him a setled judgment and constancie in y^e same; for I hope he belongs to y^e Lord, and y^t he will shew him mercie.

Having had formerly converse and familiarity with y^e Dutch, (as is before remembred,) they, seeing them seated here in a barren quarter, tould them of a river called by them y^e Fresh River,* but now is known by y^e name of Conightecute-River, which they often comended unto them for a fine place both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it. But their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass. But afterwards ther coming a company of banishte Indeans into these parts, that were drivene out from thence by the potencie of y^e Pequents, which usurped upon them, and drive them from thence, they often sollisited them to goe thither, and they should have much trad, espetially if they would keep a house ther. And having now good store of comodities, and allso need to looke out wher they could advantage them selves to help them out of their great ingagments, they now begane to send that way to discover y^e same, and trade with y^e natives. They found it to be a fine place, but had no great store of trade; but y^e Indeans excused y^e same in regard of y^e season, and the fear y^e Indans were in of their enemise. So they tried diverce times, not with out profite, but saw y^e most certainty would be by keeping a house ther, to receive y^e trad when it came down out of y^e inland. Those Indeans, not seeing them very forward to build ther, solisited them of y^e Massa-

* The historians of New Netherland claim that Block discovered the Connecticut River, in 1614, and named it "Versch" or Fresh-Water River.

See Brodhead's New York, pp. 56, 57; O'Callaghan's New Netherland, I. 73. — Ed.

chusets in like sorte (for their end was to be restored to their countrie againe); but they in y^e Bay being but latly come,* were not fitte for y^e same; but some of their cheefe made a motion to joyne wth the partners here, to trad joyntly with them in y^t river, the which they were willing to imbrace, and so they should have builde, and put in equall stock togeather. A time of meeting was appointed at y^e Massachusetts, and some of y^e cheefe here was appointed to treat with them, and went accordingly; † but they cast many fears of deanger & loss and the like, which was perceived to be the maine obstacles, though they alledged they were not provided of trading goods. But those hear offered at presente to put in sufficente for both, provided they would become ingaged for y^e halfe, and prepare against y^e nexte year. They confessed more could not be offered, but thanked them, and tould them they had no mind to it. They then answered, they hoped

* Winthrop, under date of April 4, 1631, notices the visit to Boston of Wahginnacut, a sagamore upon the River Quonehtacut, in company with other Indians, being "very desirous to have some Englishmen to come plant in his country, and offering to find them corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver," &c. The Governor declined his proposal, and "discovered after, that the said sagamore is a very treacherous man, and at war with the Pekoath (a far greater sagamore)." — Ed.

† Winthrop, under date of July 12, 1633, says: "Mr. Edward Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, and Mr. Bradford, came into the Bay, and went away the 18th. They came partly to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut, for beaver and hemp. There was a motion to set up a trading house there, to prevent the Dutch, who were about to build one; but, in regard the place was not fit for plantation, there being three or four thousand warlike Indians, and the river not to be gone into but by small pinnaces, having a bar affording but six feet at high water," &c., &c., "we thought not fit to meddle with it."

Mr. Savage, in a note on this passage remarks: "Some disingenuousness, I fear, may be imputed to our council, in starting difficulties to deter our brethren of the humble community of Plymouth from extending their limits to so advantageous a situation; for we next season were careful to warn the Dutch against occupation of it, and the following year took possession ourselves." The bark Blessing, a few weeks after this, visited the Dutch plantation, and Van Twiller was desired to forbear to build upon the river and country of Connecticut, that territory being granted by the king of England to his own subjects. The Dutch Governor courteously replied to Governor Winthrop, Oct. 4, that he "could wish that his Majesty of England and the Lords States-General would agree concerning the limits and parting of their quarters, that as good neighbors we might live in these heathenish countries," adding that he had "taken possession of the forementioned river" in the name of the Lords States-General, and had set up a house there, &c. See Winthrop, I. 105, 111 – 113; O'Callaghan's New Netherland, p. 152. — Ed.

it would be no offence unto [197] them, if them sellves wente on without them, if they saw it meete. They said ther was no reason they should; and thus this treaty broake of, and those here tooke conveniente time to make a begining ther; and were y^e first English that both discovered that place, and built in y^e same, though they were litle better then thrust out of it afterward as may appeare.

But y^e Dutch begane now to repente, and hearing of their purpose & preparation, indēoured to prevente them, and gott in a litle before them, and made a slight forte,* and planted 2. peeces of ordnance, threatening to stopp their passage. But they having made a smale frame of a house ready, and haveing a great new-barke, they stowed their frame in her hold, & bords to cover & finishe it, having nayles & all other provisions fitting for their use. This they did y^e rather that they might have a presente defence against y^e Indeans, who weare much offended that they brought home & restored y^e right Sachem of y^e place (called Natawanute); so as they were to incounter with a duple danger in this attempte, both y^e Dutch and y^e Indeans. When they came up y^e river, the Dutch demanded what they intended, and whither they would goe; they answered, up y^e river to trade (now their order was to goe and seat above them). They bid them strike, & stay, or els they would shoote them; & stood by ther ordnance ready fitted. They answered they had comission from y^e Gov^r of Plimoth to goe up y^e river to such a place, and if they did shoote, they must obey their order and proccede; they would not molest them, but would goe one.† So they passed along, and though the Dutch threatened them

* On the 8th of June, 1633, the Dutch made a purchase, from a Pequot chief, of some lands on the Connecticut River, and soon after completed their fort, named the "Good Hope," about the place of the present town of Hart-

ford. Brodhead's New York, pp. 234, 235. — Ed.

† The resolute commander of this expedition was William Holmes. See Hazard, II. 262; Trumbull's Connecticut, I. 35. — Ed.

hard, yet they shoot not. Coming to their place,* they clapt up their house quickly, and landed their provissions, and left y^e companie appoynted, and sent the barke home; and afterwards palisadoed their house aboute, and fortified them selves better. The Dutch sent word home to y^e Monhatas what was done; and in proces of time, they sent a band of aboute 70. men, in warrlike maner, with collours displayed, to assaulte them; but seeing them strengtened, & that it would cost blood, they came to parley, and returned in peace. And this was their enterance ther, who deserved to have held it, and not by freinds to have been thrust out, as in a sorte they were, as will after appere. They did y^e Dutch no wrong, for they took not a foote of any land they bought, but went to y^e place above them, and bought that tracte of land which belonged to these Indeans which they carried with them, and their friends, with whom y^e Dutch had nothing to doe. But of these matters more in another place.

It pleased y^e Lord to visite them this year with an infectious fevoure, of which many fell very sicke, and upward of 20. persons dyed, men and women, besids children, and sundry of them of their anciente friends which had lived in Holand; as Thomas Blossome, Richard Master-son, with sundry [198] others, and in y^e end (after he had much helped others) Samuella Fuller, who was their surgeon & phisition, and had been a great help and comforte unto them; as in his facultie, so otherwise, being a deacon of y^e church, a man godly, and forward to doe good, being much missed after his death; and he and y^e rest of their brethren much lamented by them, and caused much sadnes & mourning amongst them; which caused them to

* This was on the site of the present town of Windsor, and was the commencement of the English settlements in Connecticut. The Dutch authorities say this was on the 16th of September. Trumbull says it was in October. Winslow says he "had a place given

(the place we after possessed) the year before the Dutch began in the river; the Dutch came in by way of prevention." Brodhead's New York, p. 241; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, Appendix, p. 395. — Ed.

humble them selves, & seeke y^e Lord ; and towards winter it pleased the Lord y^e sicknes ceased. This disease allso swept away many of y^e Indeans from all y^e places near adjoyning ; and y^e spring before, espetially all y^e month of May, ther was such a quantitie of a great sorte of flies, like (for bignes) to wasps, or bumble-bees, which came out of holes in y^e ground, and replenished all y^e woods, and eate y^e green-things, and made such a constante yelling noyes, as made all y^e woods ring of them, and ready to deafe y^e hearers.* They have not by y^e English been heard or seen before or since. But y^e Indeans tould them y^t sicknes would follow, and so it did in June, July, August, and y^e cheefe heat of somer.

It pleased y^e Lord to inable them this year to send home a great quantity of beaver, besids paing all their charges, & debts at home, which good returne did much encourage their freinds in England. They sent in beaver 336th. waight, and much of it coat beaver, which yeelded 20^s. p^r pound, & some of it above ; and of otter-skinest 346. sould also at a good prise. And thus much of y^e affairs of this year.

Anno Dom: 1634.

THIS year M^r. Thomas Prence was chosen Gov^r.†

M^r. Sherleys letters were very breefe in answer of theirs this year. I will forbear to coppy any part therof, only name a head or 2. therin. First, he desirs they will take nothing ill in what he formerly write, professing his good

* "The insect here described," remarks Judge Davis, "is the *Cicada septendecim* of Linnaeus, commonly called the locust. They have frequently appeared since, after long intervals, generally about seventeen years, indicated by the Linnaean specific name." Davis's ed. of the Memorial, p. 174, and Appendix, pp. 396 - 400 ; Harris's Report

on the Insects of Massachusetts, pp. 165 - 174. — Ed.

† The skin was sold at 14^s. & 15. y^e pound.

‡ The Assistants this year were William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Miles Standish, William Collier, John Alden, John Howland, and Stephen Hopkins. Morton's Memorial. — Ed.

affection towards them as before, &c. 2^{ly}. For M^r. Allertons accounts, he is perswaded they must suffer, and y^e in no small sumes; and that they have cause enough to complaine, but it was now too late. And that he had failed them ther, those here, and him selfe in his owne aimes. And that now, having thus left them here, he feared God had or would leave him, and it would not be strang, but a wonder if he fell not into worse things, &c. 3^{ly}. He blesseth God and is thankfull to them for y^e good returne made this year. This is y^e effecte of his letters, other things being of more private nature.

I am now to enter upon one of y^e sadest things that befell them since they came; but before I begine, it will be needfull to premise such parte of their patente as gives them right and priviledge at Kenebeck; as followeth:

[199] The said Counsell hath further given, granted, barganed, sold, infeoffed, allotted, assigned, & sett over, and by these presents doe clearly and absolutly give, grante, bargane, sell, alliene, enfieofe, allote, assigne, and confirme unto y^e said William Bradford, his heires, associates, and assignes, All that tracte of land or part of New-England in America afforesaid, which lyeth within or betweene, and extendeth it selfe from y^e utmost limits of Cobiseconte, which adjoyneth to y^e river of Kenebeck, towards the westerne ocean, and a place called y^e falls of Nequamkick in America, aforsaid; and y^e space of 15. English myles on each side of y^e said river, commonly called Kenebeck River, and all y^e said river called Kenebeck that lyeth within the said limits & bounds, eastward, westward, northward, & southward, last above mentioned; and all lands, grounds, soyles, rivers, waters, fishing, &c. And by vertue of y^e authority to us derived by his said late Ma^{ty} L^rs patents, to take, apprehend, seise, and make prise of all such persons, their ships and goods, as shall attempte to inhabite or trade with y^e savage people of that countrie within y^e severall precincts and limits of his & their severall plantations, &c.*

Now it so fell out, that one Hocking, belonging to y^e

* See the Plymouth patent, which includes this grant, in *Plymouth Colony Laws*, Brigham's ed. — Ed.

plantation of Pascataway, wente with a barke and comodities to trade in that river, and would needs press into their limites; and not only so, but would needs goe up y^e river above their house, (towards y^e falls of y^e river,) and intercept the trade that should come to them. He that was cheefe* of y^e place forbad them, and prayed him that he would not offer them that injurie, nor goe aboute to infringe their liberties, which had cost them so dear. But he answered he would goe up and trade ther in despite of them, and lye ther as longe as he pleased. The other tould him he must then be forced to remove him from thence, or make seasure of him if he could. He bid him doe his worste, and so wente up, and anchored ther. The other tooke a boat & some men & went up to him, when he saw his time, and againe entreated him to departe by what perswasion he could. But all in vaine: he could gett nothing of him but ill words. So he considred that now was y^e season for trade to come downe, and if he should suffer him to lye, & take it from them, all ther former charge would be lost, and they had better throw up all. So, consulting with his men, (who were willing thertoe,) he resolved to put him from his anchores, and let him drive downe y^e river with y^e streame; but comanded y^e men y^t none should shoote a shote upon any occasion, except he comanded them. He spoake to him againe, but all in vaine; then he sente a cuple in a canow to cutt his cable, the which one of them performes; but Hocking taks up a pece which he had layed ready, and as y^e barke shered by y^e canow, he shote [200] him close under her side, in y^e head, (as I take it,) so he fell downe dead instantly.† One of his fellows (that loved him well) could not hold, but with a muskett shot Hocking,‡ who fell

* John Howland. See the note following. — Ed.

† The name of this person shot was Moses Talbott. A deposition relating to this affair, taken from the Plymouth Colony Records, is printed in the New

Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., IX. 80. From this it appears that John Howland was the person in command there at this time. — Ed.

‡ Winthrop, under date of May 3, 1633, says: "News came of the death

downe dead and never speake word. This was y^e truth of y^e thing. The rest of y^e men carried home the vessell and y^e sad tidings of these things. Now y^e Lord Saye & y^e Lord Brooks, with some other great persons, had a hand in this plantation; they write home to them, as much as they could to exasperate them in y^e matter, leaveing out all y^e circomstances, as if he had been kild without any offenc of his parte, conceling y^t he had kild another first, and y^e just occasion that he had given in offering such wrong; at w^{ch} their Lords^{ps} were much offended, till they were truly informed of y^e mater.

The bruite of this was quickly carried all aboute, (and y^t in y^e worst maner,) and came into y^e Bay to their neighbours their. Their owne barke coming home, and bringing a true relation of y^e matter, sundry were sadly affected with y^e thing, as they had cause. It was not long before they had occasion to send their vessell into y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts; but they were so prepossest with this matter, and affected with y^e same, as they comited M^r. Alden to prison, who was in y^e bark, and had been at Kenebeck, but was no actore in y^e bussines, but wente to carie them supply. They dismist y^e barke aboute her bussines, but kept him for some time.* This was thought strang here, and they sente Capten Standish to give them true information, (togeather with their letters,) and y^e best satisfaction they could, and to procure M^r. Alden's release. I shall recite a letter or 2.† which will show the passages of these things, as folloeth.

Good S^r:

I have received your lre^s by Captaine Standish, & am unfainedly glad of Gods mercie towards you in y^e recovery of your health, or some way thertoo. For y^e bussines you write of, I thought meete to answer a word or 2. to your selfe, leaving the

of Hockin and the Plymouth man at Kenebec," &c. — Ed.

* From Winthrop's Journal, and from the Records of Mass., it appears

that Alden was bound over, with sureties, not to depart out of the jurisdiction without leave. — Ed.

† Written doubtless to Bradford. — Ed.

answer of your Gov^r tre to our courte, to whom y^e same, together with my selfe is directed. I conceive (till I hear new matter to y^e contrary) that your patente may warrente your resistance of any English from trading at Kenebeck, and y^r blood of Hocking, and y^e partie he slue, will be required at his hands. Yet doe I with your selfe & others sorrow for their deaths. I thinke likewise y^t your generall trēs will satisfie our courte, and make them cease from any further inter medling in y^e mater. I have upon y^e same tre sett Mr. Alden at liberty, and his sureties, and yet, least I should seeme to neglecte y^e opinion of our court & y^e frequente speeches of others with us, I have bound Captaine Standish to appeare y^e 3. of June at our nexte courte, to make affidavit for y^e coppie of y^e patente, and to manifest the circumstances of Hockins provocations; both which will tend to y^e clearing of your inōcencie. If any unkindnes hath ben taken from what we have done, let it be further & better considred of, I pray you; and I hope y^e more you thinke of it, the lesse blame you will impute to us. At least you ought to be just in differing them, whose opinions concur [201] with your owne, from others who were opposites; and yet I may truly say, I have spoken wth no man in y^e bussines who taxed you most, but they are such as have many wayes heretofore declared ther good affections towards your plantation. I further referr my selfe to y^e reporte of Captaine Standish & Mr. Alden; leaving you for this presente to Gods blessing, wishing unto you perfecte recovery of health, and y^e long continuance of it. I desire to be lovingly remembred to Mr. Prence, your Gov^r, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Brewster, whom I would see if I knew how. The Lord keepe you all. Amen.

Your very loving freind in our Lord Jesus,

THO: DUDLEY.*

New-towne, y^e 22. of May, 1634.

Another of his about these things as followeth.

S^r: I am right sorrie for y^e news that Captaine Standish & other of your neighbours and my beloved freinds will bring now to Plimoth, wherin I suffer with you, by reason of my opinion,

* The arrest of Alden took place this month, while Winthrop was Governor, and just before the election or inauguration of Dudley to that office. See Records of Mass., III. 119; Winthrop, I. 131, 132. — Ed.

which differeth from others, who are godly & wise, amongst us here, the reverence of whose judgments causeth me to suspecte myne owne ignorance; yet must I remaine in it untill I be convinced therof. I thought not to have shewed your letter written to me, but to have done my best to have reconciled differences in y^e best season & maner I could; but Captaine Standish requiring an answer therof publickly in y^e courte, I was forced to produce it, and that made y^e breach soe wide as he can tell you. I propounded to y^e courte, to answer Mr. Prences here, your Gov^r, but our courte said it required no answer, it selfe being an answer to a former here of ours. I pray you certifie Mr. Prence so much, and others whom it concerneth, that no neglecte or ill maners be imputed to me therabout. The late hres I received from England wrought in me diverse feares* of some trials which are shortly like to fall upon us; and this unhappie contention betweene you and us, and between you & Pascattaway, will hasten them, if God with an extraordinarie hand doe not help us. To reconcile this for y^e presente will be very difficulte, but time cooleth distempers, and a comone danger to us boath approaching, will necessitate our uniting againe. I pray you therefore, S^r. set your wisdom & patience a worke, and exhorte others to y^e same, that things may not proceede from bad to worse, so making our contentions like y^e barrs of a pallace, but that a way of peace may be kepte open, wherat y^e God of peace may have enterance in his owne time. If you suffer wrong, it shall be your honor to bear it patiently; but I goe to farr in needles putting you in mind of these things. God hath done great things for you, and I desire his blessings may be multiplied upon you more & more. I will commite no more to writing, but comending my selfe to your prayers, doe rest,

Your truly loving freind in our Lord Jesus,

THO: DUDLEY.

June 4. 1634.

By these things it appars what troubls rise herupon, and how hard they were to be reconciled; for though they hear were hartily sorrie for what was fallen out, yet

* Ther was cause enough of these feares, which arise by y^e underworking of some enemies to y^e churches here, by which this Comission following was procured from his Matie. [See this paper in the Appendix, No II. — Ed.]

they conceived they were unjustly injured, and provoked to what was done; and that their neighbours (having no jurisdiction over them) did more then was mete, thus to imprison one of theirs, and bind them to [202] their courts. But yet being assured of their Christian love, and perswaded what was done was out of godly zeale, that religion might not suffer, nor sine any way covered or borne with, espetially y^e guilte of blood, of which all should be very consciencious in any whom soever, they did indeavore to appease & satisfie them y^e best they could; first, by informing them y^e truth in all circumstances aboute y^e matter; 2^{ly}, in being willing to referr y^e case to any indifferante and equall hearing and judg-mente of the thing hear, and to answeare it els wher when they should be duly called therunto; and further they craved M^r. Winthrops, & other of y^e reveⁿl magistrats ther, their advice & direction herein. This did mollitie their minds, and bring things to a good & comfortable issue in y^e end.

For they had this advice given them by M^r. Winthrop, & others concurring with him, that from their courts, they should write to the neigboure plantations, & espetially that of y^e lords, at Pascataway, and theirs of y^e Massachusets, to appointe some to give them meeting at some fitt place, to consulte & determine in this matter, so as y^e parties meeting might have full power to order & bind, &c. And that nothing be done to y^e infringing or prejudice of y^e liberties of any place. And for y^e clearing of conscience, y^e law of God is, y^t y^e preist lips must be consulted with, and therefore it was desired that y^e ministers of every plantation might be presente to give their advice in pointe of conscience. Though this course seemed dangerous to some, yet they were so well assured of y^e justice of their cause, and y^e equitie of their freinds, as they put them selves upon it, & appointed a time, of which they gave notice to y^e severall places a month

before hand ; viz. Massachusetts, Salem, & Pascataway, or any other y^t they would give notice too, and disired them to produce any evidence they could in y^e case. The place for meeting was at Boston. But when y^e day & time came, none apered, but some of y^e magistrats and ministers of y^e Massachusetts, and their owne.* Seeing none of Passcataway or other places came, (haveing been thus desired, & conveniente time given them for y^t end,) M^r. Winthrop & y^e rest said they could doe no more then they had done thus to requeste them, y^e blame must rest on them. So they fell into a fair debating of things them selves; and after all things had been fully opened & discussed, and y^e opinione of each one demanded, both magistrats, and ministers, though they all could have wished these things had never been, yet they could not but lay y^e blame & guilt on Hockins owne head; and withall gave them such grave & godly exhortations and advice, as they thought meete, both for y^e presente & future; which they also imbraced with love & thankfullnes, promising to indeavor to follow y^e same. And thus was this matter ended, and ther love and concord renewed; and also M^r. Winthrop & M^r. Dudley write in their behalves to y^e Lord Ssay & other gentl-men that were interesed in y^t plantation, very effectually, wth which, togeather with their owne leters, and M^r. Winslows furdre declaration of things unto them, they rested well satisfied.

[203] M^r. Winslow was sente by them this year into England, partly to informe and satisfie y^e Lord Say & others, in y^e former matter, as also to make answer and their just defence for y^e same, if any thing should by any be prosecuted against them at Counsell-table, or els wher; but this matter tooke end, without any further trouble,

* Under date of July 9th of this year, Winthrop writes: "Mr. Bradford and Mr. Winslow, two of the magistrates of Plymouth, with Mr. Smith, their pastor, came to Boston by water,

to confer with some of our magistrats and ministers about their case of Kenebec. They met hereabout Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wilson." See Winthrop, I. 136, 137. — Ed.

as is before noted. And partly to signifie unto y^e partners in England, that the terme of their trade with y^e company here was out, and therefore he was sente to finishe y^e accounts with them, and to bring them notice how much debtore they should remaine on y^t accounte, and that they might know what further course would be best to hold. But y^e issue of these things will appear in y^e next years passages. They now sente over by him a great returne, which was very acceptable unto them; which was in beaver 3738^{li}. waight, (a great part of it, being coat-beaver, sould at 20^s. p^r pound,) and 234. otter skines; * which alltogeather rise to a great sume of money.

This year † (in y^e foreparte of y^e same) they sente forth a barke to trad at y^e Dutch-Plantation; and they mette ther with on Captaine Stone, that had lived in Christophers, one of y^e West-Ende Ilands, and now had been some time in Virginia, and came from thence into these parts. He kept company with y^e Dutch Gove^r, and, I know not in what drunken fitt, he gott leave of y^e Gov^r to ceaise on their barke, when they were ready to come away, and had done their markett, haveing y^e valew of 500^{li}. worth of goods aboard her; having no occasion at all, or any collour of ground for such a thing, but having made y^e Gov^r drunck, so as he could scarce speake a right word; and when he urged him hear aboute, he answered him, *Als 't u belieft*.‡ So he gat aboard, (the cheefe of their men & marchant being ashore,) and with some of

* And y^e skin at 14^s.

† According to Winthrop, the transaction here narrated occurred in the previous year. Under date of June 2d, 1633, he notices the arrival of Captain Stone at Boston; and also that the Governor of Plymouth sent Captain Standish to prosecute him for piracy, for the cause here related; and Stone was bound over. It was, however, not proceeded in, for the reason, as Winthrop states, that the master of the Ply-

mouth pinnace after her rescue agreed with Captain Stone and the Dutch Governor "to pass it by." And "those of Plymouth being persuaded that it would turn to their reproach, and that it could be no piracy, with their consent we withdrew our recognizance." Winthrop makes further mention of Stone, showing him to have been a man of dissolute character. See Winthrop, I. 104, 111. — ED.

‡ That is, "If you please." — ED.

his owne men, made y^e rest of theirs waigh anchor, sett sayle, & carry her away towards Virginia. But diverse of y^e Dutch sea-men, which had bene often at Plimoth, and kindly entertayned ther, said one to another, Shall we suffer our freinds to be thus abused, and have their goods carried away, before our faces, whilst our Gov^r is drunke? They vowed they would never suffer it; and so gott a vessell or 2. and pursued him, & brought him in againe, and delivered them their barke & goods againe.

After wards Stone came into y^e Massachusets, and they sent & commensed suite against him for this facte; but by mediation of freinds it was taken up, and y^e suite lett fall. And in y^e company of some other gentle-men Stone came afterwards to Plimoth, and had freindly & civill entertainmente amongst them, with y^e rest; but revenge boyled within his brest, (though cancelled,) for some conceived he had a purpose (at one time) to have staped the Gov^r, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by Gods providence and y^e vigilance of some was prevented. He afterward returned to Virginia, in a pinass, with one Captaine Norton & some others; and, I know not for what occasion, they would needs goe up Coonigtecutt River; and how they carried themselves I know not, but y^e Indeans knoct him in y^e head, as he lay in his cabine, and had thrown y^e covering over his face (whether out of fear or desperation is uncertaine); this was his end. They likewise killed all y^e rest, but Captaine Norton defended him selfe a long time against them all in y^e cooke-roome, till by accidente the gunpowder tooke fire, which (for readynes) he had sett in an open thing before him, which did so burne, & scald him, & blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slaine also by them, though they much comended his vallour.* And

* Under date of January 21, 1633-4, Winthrop notices the report from Plymouth, that Captain Stone and "all his companions, being eight," were cut off by the Pequots; and he proceeds to narrate the circumstances of it. See

having killed y^e men, they made a pray of what they had, and chafered away some of their things to y^e Dutch that lived their. But it was not longe before a quarell fell betweene the Dutch & them, and they would have cutt of their bark; but they slue y^e cheef sachem wth y^e shott of a murderer.*

I am now to relate some strang and remarkable passages. Ther was a company of people lived in y^e country, up above in y^e river of Conigtecute, a great way from their trading house ther, and were enimise to those Indeans which lived aboute them, and of whom they stood in some fear (bing a stout people). About a thousand of them had inclosed them selves in a forte, which they had strongly palissadoed about. 3. or 4. Dutch men went up in y^e begining of winter to live with them, to gett their trade, and prevente them for bringing it to y^e English, or to fall into amitie with them; but at spring to bring all downe to their place. But their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visite these Indeans with a great sicknes, and such a mortalitie that of a 1000. above 900. and a halfe of them dyed, and many of them did rott above ground for want of buriall, and y^e Dutch men allmost starved before they could gett away, for ise and snow. But about Feb: they got with much difficultie to their trading house; whom they kindly releevd, being allmost spent with hunger and could. Being thus refreshed by them diverce days, they got to their owne place, and y^e Dutch were very thankfull for this kindnes.

This spring,† also, those Indeans that lived aboute their

also Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 117-119; Trumbull, I. 69, 70. — Ed.

* The two paragraphs above were written on the reverse of folios 202 and 203 of the original manuscript, under this year. — Ed.

† According to Winthrop, a great mortality among the Indians, from the small-pox, which we may suppose to be the same here spoken of, occurred in No-

vember and December of the last year. Chickatabot, the sagamore of Naponsett, John, sagamore of Winnesimmett, and James, sagamore of Saugus, died at this time of this disease. Above thirty were buried by Mr. Maverick, of Winnesimmett, in one day. Under date of January 21, 1633-4, Winthrop says: "Hall and the two others, who went to Connecticut Nov. 3, came now

trading house there fell sick of y^e small poxe, and dyed most miserably; for a sorer disease cannot befall them; they fear it more then y^e plague; for usually they that have this disease have them in abundance, and for wante of bedding & lining and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition, as they lye on their hard matts, y^e poxe breaking and mattering, and runing one into another, their skin cleaving (by reason therof) to the matts they lye on; when they turne them, a whole side will flea of at once, [204] (as it were,) and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearfull to behold; and then being very sore, what with could and other distempers, they dye like rotten sheep. The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell downe so generally of this diseas, as they were (in y^e end) not able to help on another; no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a litle water to drinke, nor any to burie y^e dead; but would strivie as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would burne y^e woden trayses & dishes they ate their meate in, and their very bowes & arrowes; & some would crawle out on all foure to gett a litle water, and some times dye by y^e way, & not be able to gett in againe. But those of y^e English house, (though at first they were afraid of y^e infection,) yet seeing their woefull and sadd condition, and hearing their pitifull cries and lamentations, they had compastion of them, and dayly fetched them wood & water, and made them fires, gott them victualls whilst they lived, and buried them when they dyed. For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding they did what they could for them, to y^e haszard of them selvs. The cheefe Sachem him selfe now dyed, & allmost all his freinds & kinred. But by y^e marvelous

home, &c.; they informed us that the small-pox was gone as far as any Indian plantation was known to the west, and much people dead of it, &c. At Nara-

ganset, by the Indians' report, there died seven hundred." Winthrop, I. 115, 116, 119, 120, 123. — Ed.

goodnes & providens of God not one of y^e English was so much as sicke, or in y^e least measure tainted with this disease, though they dayly did these offices for them for many weeks together. And this mercie which they shewed them was kindly taken, and thankfully acknowledged of all y^e Indeans that knew or heard of y^e same; and their m^{rs} here did much comend & reward them for y^e same.

*Anno Dom: 1635.**

M^r. WINSLOW was very wellcome to them in England, and y^e more in regard of y^e large returne he brought with him, which came all safe to their hands, and was well sould. And he was borne in hand, (at least he so apprehended,) that all accounts should be cleared before his returne, and all former differences ther aboute well settled. And so he writ over to them hear, that he hoped to cleare y^e accounts, and bring them over with him; and y^t the accounte of y^e White Angele would be taken of, and all things fairly ended. But it came to pass [205] that, being occasioned to answer some complaints made against the countrie at Counsell bord, more cheefly concerning their neighbours in y^e Bay then them selves hear, the which he did to good effecte, and further prosecuting such things as might tend to y^e good of y^e whole, as well them selves as others, aboute y^e wrongs and incroachments that the French & other strangers both had and were like further to doe unto them, if not prevented, he prefered this petition following to their Hon^{rs} that were deputed Comissioners for y^e Plantations.

* Governor Bradford, out of modesty, omits to record his own re-election, from time to time, to the office of chief magistrate. He was chosen again this year; and Edward Winslow, Thomas

Prence, William Collier, Miles Standish, John Alden, John Howland, and Stephen Hopkins, were chosen Assistants. Morton's Memorial. — Ed.

To y^e right honorable y^e Lords Comissioners for y^e Plantations in America.

The humble petition of Edw: Winslow, on y^e behalfe of y^e plantations in New-England,

Humbly sheweth unto your Lordships, y^t wheras your petitioners have planted them selves in New England under his Ma^{tis} most gracious protection; now so it is, right Hon^{bl}, that y^e French & Dutch doe indeaouer to devide y^e land betweene them; for which purpose y^e French have, on y^e east side, entered and seased upon one of our houses, and carried away the goods, slew 2. of y^e men in another place, and tooke y^e rest prisoners with their goods. And y^e Dutch, on y^e west, have also made entrie upon Conigtecute River, within y^e limits of his Maj^{ts} t^{rs} patent, where they have raised a forte, and threaten to expell your petitioners thence, who are also planted upon y^e same river, maintaining possession for his Ma^{tie} to their great charge, & hazard both of lives & goods.

In tender consideration hereof your petitioners humbly pray that your Lo^{pp^s} will either procure their peace wth those foraine states, or else to give spetiall warrante unto your petitioners and y^e English Collonies, to right and defend them selves* against all foraigne enimies. And your petitioners shall pray, &c.

This petition found good acceptation with most of them, and M^r. Winslow was heard sundry times by them, and appointed further to attend for an answer from their Lo^{pp^s}, espetially, having upon conferance with them laid downe a way how this might be doone without any either charge or trouble to y^e state; only by furnishing some of y^e cheefe of y^e cuntry hear with authoritie, who would undertake it at their owne charge, and in such a way as should be without any publick disturbance. But this crossed both S^r Ferdinandos Gorges' & Cap: Masons designe, and y^e archbishop of Counterberies by them; for S^r Ferd: Gorges (by y^e arch-pps favore) was to have been sent

* Winthrop intimates (I. 172) that this petition of Winslow, for authority to resist the encroachments of the French and Dutch, was "undertaken by ill advice, for such precedents might endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing hereafter but by commission out of England." — Ed.

over generall Gov^r* into y^e countrie, and to have had means from y^e state for y^e end, and was now upon dispatch and conclude of y^e bussines. And y^e arch-bishops purposs & intente was, by his means, & some he should send with him, (to be furnished with Episcopall power,) [206] to disturbe y^e peace of y^e churches here, and to overthrow their proceedings and further growth, which was y^e thing he aimed at. But it so fell out (by Gods providence) that though he in y^e end crost this petition from taking any further effecte in this kind, yet by this as a cheefe means the plotte and whole bussines of his & S^r Ferdinandos fell to y^e ground, and came to nothing. When M^r. Winslow should have had his suit granted, (as indeed upon y^e pointe it was,) and should have been confirmed, the arch-bishop put a stop upon it, and M^r. Winslow, thinking to gett it freed, went to y^e bord againe; but y^e bishop, S^r Ferd: and Captaine Masson, had, as it seemes, procured Morton (of whom mention is made before, & his base carriage) to complaine; to whose complaints M^r. Winslow made answer to y^e good satisfaction of y^e borde, who checked Morton and rebuked him sharply, & allso blamed S^r Fer^d Gorges, & Masson, for countenancing him. But y^e bish: had a further end & use of his presence, for he now begane to question M^r. Winslow of many things; as of teaching in y^e church publickly, of which Morton accused him, and gave evidence that he had seen and heard

* Sir Simonds D'Ewes, a contemporary, writing under the year 1634, notices the reports that have been given out from time to time, that a bishop and governor were to be sent to New England, "to force upon them the yoke of our ceremonies and intermixtures, so to deter others from going. And indeed," he continues, "at this time the same report was more likely to be fulfilled than ever, before or since: for one Sir Ferdinando Gorges was nominated for Governor, and there was a consultation had to send him thither with a thousand soldiers; a ship was now in building,

and near finished, to transport him by sea, and much fear there was amongst the godly lest that infant commonwealth and church should have been ruined by him; when God, that had carried so many weak and crazy ships thither, so provided it that this strong, new-built ship in the very launching fell all in pieces, no man knew how, this spring ensuing, and so preserved his dear children there at this present from that fatal danger, nor hath since suffered them as yet to come under the like fear." *Autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, II. 118. — Ed.

him doe it; to which M^r. Winslow answered, that some time (wanting a minster) he did exercise his gifte to help y^e edification of his breethren, when they wanted better means, w^{ch} was not often. Then aboute mariage, the which he also confessed, that, haveing been called to place of magistracie, he had sometimes married some. And further tould their lord^{ps} y^t mariage was a civile thinge, & he found no wher in y^e word of God y^t it was tyed to ministrie. Again, they were necessitated so to doe, having for a long time togeather at first no minister; besides, it was no new-thing, for he had been so married him selfe in Holand, by y^e magistrats in their Statt-house. But in y^e end (to be short), for these things, y^e bishop, by vemente importunity, gott y^e bord at last to consente to his comittemente; so he was comited to y^e Fleete, and lay ther 17. weeks, or ther aboute, before he could gett to be released. And this was y^e end of this petition, and this bussines; only y^e others designe was also frustrated hereby, with other things concurring, which was no smalle blessing to y^e people here.

But y^e charge fell heavie on them hear, not only in M^r. Winslows expences, (which could not be smale,) but by y^e hinderance of their bussines both ther and hear, by his personall imploymente. For though this was as much or more for others then for them hear, and by them cheefly lie was put on this bussines, (for y^e plantation kēwe nothing of it till they heard of his imprisonmente,) yet y^e whole charge lay on them.

Now for their owne bussines; whatsoever M^r. Sherleys mind was before, (or M^r. Winslow apprehension of y^e same,) he now declared him selfe plainly, that he would neither take of y^e White-Angell from y^e accounte, nor [207] give any further accounte, till he had received more into his hands; only a prety good supply of goods were sent over, but of y^e most, no note of their prises, or so orderly an invoyce as formerly; which M^r. Winslow said

he could not help, because of his restraints. Only now Mr. Sherley & Mr. Beachamp & Mr. Andrews sent over a letter of attorney under their hands & seals, to recover what they could of Mr. Allerton for y^e Angells account; but sent them neither y^e bonds, nor covenants, or such other evidence or accounts, as they had about these matters. I shall here insert a few passages out of Mr. Sherleys letters about these things.

Your letter of y^e 22. of July, 1634, by your trustie and our loving friend Mr. Winslow, I have received, and your larg parcell of beaver and otter skins. Blessed be our God, both he and it came safely to us, and we have sold it in tow parcels; y^e skin at 14^s. 6d. & some at 16.; y^e coate at 20^s. y^e pound. The accounts I have not sent you them this year, I will refer you to Mr. Winslow to tell you y^e reason of it; yet be assured y^t none of you shall suffer by y^e not having of them, if God spare me life. And whereas you say y^e 6. years are expired y^t y^e people put y^e trade into your & our hands for, for y^e discharge of y^t great debt w^{ch} Mr. Allerton needlessly & unadvisedly ran you & us into; * yet it was promised it should continue till our disbursements & engagements were satisfied. You conceive it is done; we feel & know other wise, &c. I doubt not but we shall lovingly agree, notwithstanding all y^t hath been written, on both sides, about y^e Whit-Angell. We have now sent you a letter of attorney, thereby giving you power in our names (and to shadow it y^e more we say for our uses) to obtaine what may be of Mr. Allerton towards y^e satisfying of that great charge of y^e White Angell. And sure he hath bound him selfe, (though at present I cannot find it,) but he hath often affirmed, with great protestations, y^t neither you nor we should lose a penny by him, and I hope you shall find enough to discharge it, so as we

* Mr. Sherley does not state this correctly. The partnership of the undertakers, who hired the trade of the colony for six years, was entered into for the purpose of discharging the debt of 1800*l*. incurred by the colony in the purchase from the adventurers of all their interest in the plantation. They assumed, in addition, all the debts which then lay upon the colony, estimated at

about 600*l*. So that the whole amount which they came under obligation to discharge, supposing the last sum to be correctly estimated, was but 2400*l*. "That great debt which Mr. Allerton needlessly and unadvisedly" ran the partners into, to use Mr. Sherley's language, had not then been incurred. See pages 225-227, 290. — Ed.

shall have no more contesting aboute it. Yet, notwithstanding his unnaturall & unkind dealing with you, in y^e midst of justice remember mercie, and doe not all you may doe, &c. Set us out of debte, and then let us recone & reason together, &c. Mr. Winslow hath undergone an unkind imprisonment, but I am perswaded it will turne much to all your good. I leave him to relate perticuleres, &c.

Your loving freind,

JAMES SHERLEY.

London, Sep: 7. 1635.

This year they sustained an other great loss from y^e French.* Monsier de Aulney coming into y^e harbore of Penobscote, and having before gott some of y^e cheefe y^e belonged to y^e house aboard his vessell, by sutlty coming upon them in their shalop, he gott them to pilote him in; and after getting y^e rest into his power, he tooke possession of y^e house in y^e name of y^e king of France; and partly by threatening, & other wise, made M^r. Willett (their agente ther) to approve of y^e sale of y^e goods their unto him, of which he sett y^e price him selfe [208] in effecte, and made an inventory therof, (yett leaving out sundry things,) but

* Winthrop, under date of August of this year, writes: "At this time a French ship came with commission from the king of France (as they pretended) and took Penobscot, a Plymouth trading-house." They sent away the men which were in it, "and bade them tell all the plantations, as far as forty degrees, that they would come with eight ships next year, and displant them all. But by a letter which the captain wrote to the Governor of Plymouth, it appeared that they had commission from Mons. Rosselly, commander of the fort near Cape Breton, called La Havre, to displant the English as far as Pemaquid, and by it they professed all courtesy to us here."

By the treaty of St. Germain, concluded March 29th, 1632, Charles I. conveyed to Louis XIII. the whole of the territory of New France, which had been captured from the French three

years before. Razillai was appointed to the chief command of the Acadian country, and resided principally at La Have. A subordinate command eastward of St. Croix he delegated to La Tour; and that westward as far as the French claimed, to D'Aulney. Razillai died in 1635, or soon after, and each of the subordinate officers claimed the government of Acadie, and made war upon one another. A somewhat romantic interest pervades the history of these rivals, whose quarrels for a series of years disturbed the tranquillity of their English neighbors. After the capture of the Plymouth trading-house, here narrated, D'Aulney selected Penobscot as his place of residence for a time. See Chalmers's *Annals*, p. 93; Hutchinson's *Mass.*, 1st ed., I. 128-135; Williamson's *Maine*, I. 245-248, 261-264, 307-324; Winthrop's *New England*, *passim*. — Ed.

made no paymente for them ; but tould them in convenient time he would doe it if they came for it. For y^e house & fortification, &c. he would not alow, nor accounte any thing, saing that they which build on another mans ground doe forfeite y^e same. So thus turning them out of all, (with a great deale of complemente, and many fine words,) he let them have their shalop and some victualls to bring them home. Coming home and relating all the passages, they here were much troubled at it, & haveing had this house robbed by y^e French once before, and lost then above 500^{li}. (as is before remembred),* and now to loose house & all, did much move them. So as they resolved to consulte with their freinds in y^e Bay, and if y^e approved of it, (ther being now many ships ther,) they intended to hire a ship of force, and seeke to beat out y^e Frenche, and recover it againe. Ther course was well approved on, if them selves could bear y^e charge ; so they hired a fair ship of above 300. tune, well fitted with ordnance, and agreed with y^e m^r. (one Girling†) to this effecte: that he and his company should deliver them y^e house, (after they had driven out, or surprised y^e French.) and give them peacable possession therof, and of all such trading comodities as should ther be found ; and give y^e French fair quarter & usage, if they would yeeld. In consideration wherof he was to have 700^{li}. of beaver, to be delivered him ther, when he had done y^e thing ; but if he did not accomplish it, he was to loose his labour, and have nothing. With him they also sent their owne bark, and about 20. men, with Captaine Standish, to aide him (if neede weer), and to order things, if the house was regained ; and then to pay him y^e beaver, which they kept aboard their owne barke. So they with their bark piloted him thither, and brought him safe into y^e harbor. But he

* See pp. 293, 294. — Ed.

† "The Plymouth men had hired the Great Hope, to go to displant the French, and regain their possession at

Penobscot. The master, Mr. Girling, was to have for it 200*l*." Winthrop, l. 168. — Ed.

was so rash & heady as he would take no advice, nor would suffer Captaine Standish to have time to summone them, (who had comission & order so to doe,) neither would doe it him selfe; the which, it was like, if it had been done, & they come to affaïre parley, seeing their force, they would have yeelded. Neither would he have patience to bring his ship wher she might doe execution, but begane to shoot at distance like a madd man, and did them no hurte at all; the which when those of y^e plantation saw, they were much greeved, and went to him & tould him he would doe no good if he did not lay his ship beter to pass (for she might lye within pistoll shott of y^e house). At last, when he saw his owne folly, he was perswaded, and layed her well, and bestowed a few shott to good purposs. But now, when he was in a way to doe some good, his powder was goone; for though he had* . . . † peece of ordnance, it did now [209] appeare he had but a barrell of powder, and a peece; so he could doe no good, but was faine to draw of againe; by which means y^e enterprise was made frustrate, and y^e French encouraged; for all y^e while that he shot so unadvisedly, they lay close under a worke of earth, & let him consume him selfe. He advised with y^e Captaine how he might be supplied with powder, for he had not to carie him home; so he tould him he would goe to y^e next plantation, and doe his indeour to procure him some, and so did; but understanding, by intelligence, that he intended to ceïase on y^e barke, & surprise y^e beaver, he sent him the powder, and brought y^e barke & beaver home. But Girling never assualted y^e place more, (seeing him selfe disapoynted,) but went his way; and this was y^e end of this bussines.

Upon y^e ill success of this bussines, the Gov^r and Assistants here by their leters certified their freinds in y^e Bay, how by this ship they had been abused and disapoynted, and y^t the French partly had, and were now

* That is, pretended to have. — Ed.

† Blank in the original. — Ed.

likly to fortifie them selves more strongly, and likly to become ill neighbours to y^e English. Upon this they thus writ to them as folloeth:—

Worthy S^{rs}: Upon y^e reading of your letters, & consideration of y^e waightines of y^e cause therein mentioned, the courte hath joyntly expressed their willingnes to assist you with men & munition, for y^e accomplishing of your desires upon y^e French. But because here are none of yours y^t have authority to conclude of any thing herein, nothing can be done by us for y^e presente. We desire, therefore, that you would with all conveniente speed send some man of trust, furnished with instructions from your selves, to make such agreementes with us about this bussines as may be usefull for you, and equall for us. So in hast we comite you to God, and remaine

Your assured loving freinds,

JOHN HAYNES, Gov^r.

Rⁱ: BELLINGHAM, Dep.

Jo: WINTHROP.

Tho: DUDLEY.

Jo: HUMFRAY.

W^m: CODDINGTON.

W^m: PINCHON.

ATHERTON HOGHE.

INCREAS NOWELL.

Ric: DUMER.

SIMON BRADSTRETE.

New-towne, Octo^r 9. 1635.

Upon the receite of y^e above mentioned, they presently deputed 2. of theirs* to treat with them, giving them full power to conclude, according to the instructions they gave them, being to this purposs: that if they would afford such assistance as, togeather with their owne, was like to effecte the thing, and allso bear a considerable parte of y^e charge, they would goe on; if not, [210] they (having lost so much already) should not be able, but must desiste, and waite further opportunitie as God should give, to help

* Mr. Prence and Captain Standish. Winthrop, I. 168, 169. — Ed.

them selves. But this came to nothing, for when it came to y^e issue, they would be at no charge, but sente them this letter, and referd them more at large to their owne messengers.

St: Having, upon y^e consideration of your letter, with y^e message you sente, had some serious consultations aboute y^e great importance of your bussines with y^e French, we gave our answer to those whom you deputed to conferr wth us aboute y^e viage to Penobscote. We shewed our willingnes to help, but withall we declared our presente condition, & in what state we were, for our abilitie to help; which we for our parts shall be willing to improve, to procure you sufficente supply of men & munition. But for matter of moneys we have no authority at all to promise, and if we should, we should rather disapoynte you, then incourage you by y^t help, which we are not able to performe. We likewise thought it fitt to take y^e help of other Esterne plantations; but those things we leave to your owne wisdomes. And for other things we refer you to your owne comitties, who are able to relate all y^e passages more at large. We salute you, & wish you all good success in y^e Lord.

Your faithfull & loving friend,

Ri: BELLINGHAM, Dep:

In y^e name of y^e rest of the Comities.

Boston, Octob^r 16. 1635.

This thing did not only thus breake of, but some of their merchants shortly after sent to trad with them, and furnished them both with provissions, & powder & shott; and so have continued to doe till this day, as they have seen opportunitie for their profite. So as in truth y^e English them selves have been the cheefest supporters of these French; for besides these, the plantation at Pemaquid * (which lyes near unto them) doth not only supply them with what y^{e^y} wante, but gives them continuall intelli-

* A settlement is said to have been made at Pemaquid as early as 1623, or 1624. In 1626, according to his deposition sworn to in 1662, Abraham Shurte came over as agent of Eldridge and Aldsworth, who in 1631-2 had a grant of Pemaquid from the Council, and resided here for many years, and was superintendent and chief magistrate of the settlement. See William-son's Maine, I. 241, 242, 603, 694; Winthrop, I. 61, 79. — Ed.

gence of all things that passes amonge y^e English, (especially some of them,) so as it is no marvell though they still grow, & incroach more & more upon y^e English, and fill y^e Indeans with gunes & munishtion, to y^e great deanger of y^e English, who lye open & unfortified, living upon husbandrie; and y^e other closed up in their forts, well fortified, and live upon trade, in good securitie. If these things be not looked too, and remeady provided in time, it may easily be conjectured what they may come toe; but I leave them.

This year, y^e 14. or 15. of August (being Saturday*) was such a mighty storme of wind & raine, as none living in these parts, either English or Indeans, ever saw. Being like (for y^e time it continued) to those Hauricanes and Tuffons that writers make mention of in y^e Indeas. It began in y^e morning, a litle before day, and grue not by degrees, but came with violence in y^e begining, to y^e great amasmente of many. It blew downe sundry [211] houses, & uncovered others; diverce vessells were lost at sea, and many more in extreme danger. It caused y^e sea to swell (to y^e southward of this place) above 20. foote, right up & downe, and made many of the Indeans to clime into trees for their saftie; it tooke of y^e borded rooffe of a house which belonged to the plantation at Manamet, and floted it to another place, the posts still standing in y^e ground; and if it had continued long without y^e shifting of y^e wind, it is like it would have drowned some parte of y^e cuntrie. It blew downe many hundered thowsands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the hiegher pine trees of in the midle, and y^e tall yonge

* Saturday was the 15th of August. Winthrop erroneously records it under the 16th. During this same tempest, Anthony Thatcher was shipwrecked in going from Ipswich to Marblehead in a bark belonging to Mr. Allerton, containing twenty-three persons, all but two of whom perished. The James, of

Bristol (Eng.), with one hundred passengers, among whom were Richard Mather and Jonathan Mitchell, was met by this storm in coming upon our coast, and barely escaped destruction. See Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, pp. 473-476, 485-495; Winthrop, l. 164-166. — Ed.

oaks & walnut trees of good biggnes were wound like a withe, very strang & fearfull to behould. It begane in y^e southeast, and parted toward y^e south & east, and vered sundry ways; but y^e greatest force of it here was from y^e former quarters. It continued not (in y^e extremitic) above 5. or 6. houers, but y^e violence begane to abate. The signes and marks of it will remaine this 100. years in these parts wher it was sorest. The moone suffered a great eclips the 2. night after it.

Some of their neighbours in y^e Bay, hereing of y^e fame of Conightecute River, had a hankering mind after it, (as was before noted,) and now understanding that y^e Indcans were swept away with y^e late great mortalitic, the fear of whom was an obstacle unto them before, which being now taken away, they begane now to prosecute it with great egernes. The greatest differances fell betweene those of Dorchester plantation and them hear; for they set their minde on that place, which they had not only purchased of y^e Indcans, but wher they had builde; intending only (if they could not remove them) that they should have but a smale moyety left to y^e house, as to a single family; whose doings and proceedings were conceived to be very injurious, to attempte not only to intrude them selves into y^e rights & possessions of others, but in effect to thrust them out of all. Many were y^e leters & passages that went betweene them hear aboute, which would be to long here to relate.

I shall here first inserte a few lines that was write by their own agente from thence.

Sr: &c. Y^e Masschuset men are coming almost daily, some by water, & some by land, who are not yet determined wher to settle, though some have a great mind to y^e place we are upon,* and which was last bought. Many of them look at that which

* A portion of the church at Dorchester, of which Mr. Warham was pastor, removed this year to Connecticut, and settled at this place, which was afterwards called Windsor. See page 340, note †. — Ed.

this river will not afford, excepte it be at this place which we have, namly, to be a great towne, and have comodious dwellings for many togeather. So as what they will doe I cannot yet resolve you; for this place ther is none of them say any thing to me, but what I hear from their servants (by whom I perceive their minds). I shall doe what I can to withstand them. I hope they will hear reason; as that we were here first, and entred with much difficulty and danger, [212] both in regard of y^e Dutch & Indeans, and bought y^e land, (to your great charge, allready disbursed,) and have since held here a chargable possession, and kept y^e Dutch from further ineroaching, which would els long before this day have possessed all, and kept out all others, &c. I hope these & such like arguments will stoppe them. It was your will we should use their persons & messengers kindly, & so we have done, and doe dayly, to your great charge; for y^e first company had well nie starved had it not been for this house, for want of victuals; I being forced to supply 12. men for 9. days togeather; and those which came last, I entertained the best we could, helping both them (& y^e other) with canows, & guidis. They gott me to goe with them to y^e Dutch, to see if I could procure some of them to have quiet setling nere them; but they did peremtorily withstand them. But this later company did not once speak therof, &c. Also I gave their goods house roome according to their earnest request, and Mr. Pinchons letter in their behalfe (which I thought good to send you, here inclosed). And what trouble & charge I shall be further at I know not; for they are coming dayly, and I expecte these back againe from below, whither they are gone to veiw y^e countrie. All which trouble & charg we under goe for their occasion, may give us just cause (in y^e judgmente of all wise & understanding men) to hold and keep that we are setled upon. Thus with my duty remembred, &c.

I rest

Yours to be comanded

JOHNNATHAN BREWSTER.*

Matianuck, July 6. 1635.

* Jonathan Brewster, the eldest son of Elder Brewster, came over in the Fortune in 1621. He removed to Duxbury in 1632, and was a prominent citizen of that place. He afterwards re-

moved to New London, Conn. See notices of him and his family, in Winsor's Duxbury, pp. 235, 236, and in Miss F. M. Caulkins's New London, pp. 276-278. — Ed.

Amongst y^e many agitations that pased betweene them, I shal note a few out of their last letters, & for y^e present omitte y^e rest, except upon other occasion I may have fitter opportunity. After their thorrow veiw of y^e place, they began to pitch them selves upon their land & near their house; which occasioned much expostulation betweene them. Some of which are such as follow.

Brethren, having latly sent 2. of our body unto you, to agitate & bring to an issue some maters in difference betweene us, about some lands at Conightecutt, unto which you lay challeng; upon which God by his providence cast us, and as we conceive in a faire way of providence tendered it to us, as a meete place to receive our body, now upon removall.

A.* We shall not need to answer all y^e passages of your larg letter, &c. But wheras you say God in his providence cast you, &c., we tould you before, and (upon this occasion) must now tell you still, that our mind is other wise, and y^t you cast rather a partiall, if not a covetous eye, upon that w^{ch} is your neighbours, and not yours; and in so doing, your way could not be faire unto it. Looke y^t you abuse not Gods providence in such allegations.

Theirs.

Now allbeite we at first judged y^e place so free y^t we might with Gods good leave take & use it, without just offence to any man, it being the Lords [213] wast, and for y^e presente altogether voyd of inhabitants, that indeede minded y^e employmente therof, to y^e right ends for which land was created, Gen: 1. 28. and for future intentions of any, & uncertaine possibilities of this or that to be done by any, we judging them (in such a case as ours espetially) not meete to be equalled with presente actions (such as ours was) much less worthy to be prefered before them; and therefore did we make some weake beginings in that good worke, in y^e place afforesaid.

Ans: Their answer was to this effecte.† That if it was

* Answer. — Ed.

1635, writes: "The Dorchester men

† Winthrop, under date of August, being set down at Connecticut, near the

y^e Lords wast, it was them selves that found it so, & not they; and have since bought it of y^e right oweners, and maintained a chargable possession upon it al this while, as them selves could not but know. And because of present ingagments and other hinderances which lay at presente upon them, must it therfore be lawfull for them to goe and take it from them? It was well known that they are upon a barren place, wher they were by necessitie cast; and neither they nor theirs could longe continue upon y^e same; and why should they (because they were more ready, & more able at presente) goe and deprive them of that which they had wth charg & hazard provided, & intended to remove to, as soone as they could & were able?

They had another passage in their letter; they had rather have to doe with the lords in England, to whom (as they heard it reported) some of them should say that they had rather give up their right to them, (if they must part with it,) then to y^e church of Dorchester, &c. And that they should be less fearfull to offend y^e lords, then they were them.

Ans: Their answer was, that what soever they had heard, (more then was true,) yet y^e case was not so with them that they had need to give away their rights & adventurs, either to y^e lords, or them; yet, if they might measure their fear of offence by their practise, they had rather (in that poynte) they should deal with y^e lords, who were beter able to bear it, or help them selves, then they were.

But least I should be teadious, I will forbear other things, and come to the conclusion that was made in y^e endd. To make any forcible resistance was farr from their thoughts, (they had enough of y^t about Kenebeck,)

Plymouth trading-house, the Governor, Mr. Bradford, wrote to them, complaining of it as an injury, in regard of their possession and purchase of the Indians,

whose right it was; and the Dutch sent home into Holland for commission to deal with our people at Connecticut." — Ed.

and to live in continuall contention with their freinds & brethren would be uncomfortable, and too heavie a burthen to bear. Therfore for peace sake (though they conceived they suffered much in this thing) they thought it better to let them have it upon as good termes as they could gett; and so they fell to treaty. The first thing y^t (because they had made so many & long disputs aboute it) they would have them to grante was, y^t they had right too it, or ells they would never treat aboute it. The which being acknowledged, & yeelded unto by them, this was y^e conclusion they came unto in y^e end after much adoc: that they should retaine their house, and have the 16. parte of all they had bought of y^e Indeans; and y^e other should have all y^e rest of y^e land; leaveing such a moyety to those [214] of New-towne, as they reserved for them. This 16. part was to be taken in too places; one towards y^e house, the other towards New-townes proportion. Also they were to pay according to proportion, what had been disbursed to y^e Indeans for y^e purchass.* Thus was y^e controversie ended, but the unkindnes not so soone forgotten. They of New-towne delt more fairly, desireing only what they could conveniently spare, from a competencie reserved for a plantation, for them selves; which made them the more carfull to procure a moyety for them, in this agreement & distribution.

* Winthrop, under date Feb. 24, 1635-6, says: "Mr. Winslow of Plymouth came to treat with those of Dorchester about their land at Connecticut, which they had taken from them. It being doubtful whether that place were within our patent or not, the Plymouth men, about three years since, had treaty with us about joining in erecting a plantation and trade there. We thought not fit to do anything then, but gave them leave to go on. Whereupon they bought a portion of land of the Indians, and built a house there, and the Dorchester men (without their leave) were now setting down their town in the

same place; but, after, they desired to agree with them; for which end Mr. Winslow came to treat with them, and demanded one sixteenth part of their lands, and £ 100, which those of Dorchester not consenting unto, they brake off, those of Plymouth expecting to have due recompense after, by course of justice, if they went on. But divers resolved to quit the place, if they could not agree with those of Plymouth." Subsequently, as stated in the text, a settlement was made with the people of Dorchester, "but the unkindness not so soon forgotten." — Ed.

Amongst y^e other bussinesses that M^r. Winslow had to doe in England, he had order from y^e church to provid & bring over some able & fitt man for to be their minister. And accordingly he had procured a godly and a worthy man, one M^r. Glover; but it pleased God when he was prepared for the viage, he fell sick of a feaver and dyed. Afterwards, when he was ready to come away, he became acquainted with M^r. Norton,* who was willing to come over, but would not ingage him selfe to this place, otherwise then he should see occasion when he came hear; and if he liked better else wher, to repay y^e charge laid out for him, (which came to aboute 70^{li}.) and to be at his liberty. He stayed aboute a year with them, after he came over, and was well liked of them, & much desired by them; but he was invited to Ipswich, wher were many rich & able men, and sundry of his acquaintance; so he wente to them, & is their minister. Aboute half of y^e charg was repayed, y^e rest he had for y^e pains he tooke amongst them.

Anno Dom: 1636.

M^r. ED: WINSLOW was chosen Gov^r this year.†

In y^e former year, because they perceived by M^r. Winslows later letters that no accounts would be sente, they

* Morton, in the Plymouth church Records, says that "Mr. Winslow met with Mr. John Norton, who, it seems, was then intended to come for New England, and so did in the same ship Mr. Winslow came over in, with whom he had treaty concerning our case. He came into the harbor of Plymouth and there arrived, it being the setting in toward winter. He stayed until the March following, and then went into the Bay and returned no more, but entertained an invitation to Ipswich, and after the death of Mr. Cotton he came to Boston, and was teacher of the Old Church until his death," which took

place April 5, 1663. See Emerson's Hist. of the First Church in Boston, pp. 88-98.

Winthrop notices Mr. Norton's arrival under date of December, 1635. He says he was coming to the Massachusetts, and the ship wherein he was put into Plymouth by contrary winds, where he continued preaching to them all the winter. Winthrop, I. 175. — Ed.

* The Assistants this year were William Bradford, Thomas Prence, William Collier, John Alden, Timothy Hatherly, John Brown, and Stephen Hopkins. See Morton's Memorial, under this date. — Ed.

resolved to keep y^e beaver, and send no more, till they had them, or came to some further agreeunte. At least they would forbear till M^r. Winslow came over, that by more full conferance with him they might better understand what was meete to be done. But when he came, though he brought no accounts, yet he perswaded them to send y^e beaver, & was confident upon y^e receite of y^t beaver, & his letters, they should have accounts y^e nexte year; and though they thought his grounds but weake, that gave him this hope, & made him so confidente, yet by his importunitie they yeelded, & sente y^e same, ther being a ship at y^e latter end of year, by whom they sente 1150^{li}. waight of beaver, and 200. otter skins, besids sundrie small furs, as 55. minks, 2. black foxe skins, &c. And this year, in y^e spring, came in a Dutch man, who thought to have traded at y^e Dutch-forte; [215] but they would not suffer him. He, having good store of trading goods, came to this place, & tendred them to sell; of whom they bought a good quantitie, they being very good & fitte for their turne, as Dutch roll, ketles, &c., which goods amounted to y^e valew of 500^{li}., for y^e paymente of which they passed bills to M^r. Sherley in England, having before sente y^e forementioned parcell of beaver. And now this year (by another ship) sente an other good round parcell that might come to his hands, & be sould before any of these bills should be due. The quantity of beaver now sent was 1809^{li}. waight, and of otters 10. skins, and shortly after (y^e same year) was sent by another ship (M^r. Langrume maister), in beaver 0719^{li}. waight, and of otter skins 199. concerning which M^r. Sherley thus writs.

Your leters I have received, with 8. hoggsheads of beaver by Ed: Wilkinson, m^r. of y^e Falcon. Blessed be God for y^e safe coming of it. I have also seen & accepced 3. bills of exchange, &c. But I must now acquainte you how the Lords heavie hand is upon this kingdom in many places, but cheefly in this cittie,

with his judgmente of y^e plague. The last weeks bill was 1200. & odd, I fear this will be more; and it is much feared it will be a winter sicknes. By reason wherof it is incredible y^e number of people y^t are gone into y^e cuntry & left y^e citie. I am perswaded many more then went out y^e last great sicknes; so as here is no trading, carriers from most places put downe; nor no receiving of any money, though long due. Mr. Hall owes us more then would pay these bills, but he, his wife, and all, are in y^e cuntrie, 60. miles from London. I write to him, he came up, but could not pay us. I am perswaded if I should offer to sell y^e beaver at 8^s. p^r pound, it would not yeeld money; but when y^e Lord shall please to cease his hand, I hope we shall have better & quicker markets; so it shall lye by. Before I accepted y^e bills, I acquainted Mr. Beachamp & Mr. Andrews with them, & how ther could be no money made nor received; and that it would be a great discredite to you, which never yet had any turned back, and a shame to us, haveing 1800^{li}. of beaver lying by us, and more oweing then y^e bills come too, &c. But all was nothing; neither of them both will put too their finger to help. I offered to supply my 3. parte, but they gave me their answer they neither would nor could, &c. How ever, your bills shall be satisfied to y^e parties good contente; but I would not have thought they would have left either you or me at this time, &c. You will and may expect I should write more, & answer your leters, but I am not a day in y^e weeke at home at towne, but carry my books & all to Clapham; * for here is y^e miserablest time y^t I thinke hath been known in many ages. I have know 3. great sickneses, but none like this. And that which should be a means to pacifie y^e Lord, & help us, that is taken away, preaching put downe in many places, not a sermone in Westminster on y^e saboth, nor in many townes aboute us; y^e Lord in mercie looke uppon us. In y^e begining of y^e year was a great [216] drought, & no raine for many weeks togeather, so as all was burnte up, haye, at 5^{li}. a load; and now all raine, so as much sommer corne & later haye is spoyled. Thus y^e Lord sends judgmente after judgmente, and yet we cannot see, nor humble our selves; and therefore may justly fear heavier judgments, unless we speedily repente, & returne unto him, which

* A village in Surrey, in the suburbs of London, south-southwest from the city. — Ed.

y^e Lord give us grace to doe, if it be his blessed will. Thus
desiring yon to remember us in your prayers, I ever rest

Your loving friend,

Sep^r: 14. 1636.

JAMES SHERLEY.

This was all y^e answer they had from M^r. Sherley, by which M^r. Winslow saw his hops failed him. So they now resoloved to send no more beaver in y^t way which they had done, till they came to some issue or other aboute these things. But now came over letters from M^r. Andrews & M^r. Beachamp full of complaints, that they marveled y^t nothing was sent over, by which any of their moneys should be payed in; for it did appear by y^e accounte sente in An^o 1631. that they were each of them out, aboute a leven hundered pounds a peece, and all this while had not received one penie towards y^e same. But now M^r. Sherley sought to draw more money from them, and was offended because they deneyed him; and blamed them hear very much that all was sent to M^r. Sherley, & nothing to them. They marvelled much at this, for they conceived that much of their moneis had been paid in, & y^t yearly each of them had received a proportionable quantity out of y^e larg returnes sent home. For they had sente home since y^t accounte was received in An^o 1631. (in which all & more then all their debts, wth y^t years supply, was charged upon them) these sumes following.

Novbr 18.	An ^o 1631.	By Mr. Peirce	0400 ^{li} .	waight of beaver, & otters	20.
July 13.	An ^o 1632.	By Mr. Griffin	1348 ^{li} .	beaver, & otters . . .	147.
	An ^o 1633.	By Mr. Graves	3366 ^{li} .	beaver, & otters . . .	346.
	An ^o 1634.	By Mr. Andrews	3738 ^{li} .	beaver, & otters . . .	234.
	An ^o 1635.	By Mr. Babb	1150 ^{li} .	beaver, & otters . . .	200.
June 24.	An ^o 1636.	By Mr. Willkinson	1809 ^{li} .	beaver, & otters . . .	010.
		Ibidem. By Mr. Langrume	0719 ^{li} .	beaver, & otters . . .	199.
			12150 ^{li} .*		1156.

All these sumes were safly received & well sould, as appears by leters. The coat beaver usualy at 20^s. p^r pound,

* Not correctly cast; it should be 12530^{li}. — Ed.

and some at 24^s.; the skin at 15. & sometimes 16. I doe not remember any under 14. It may be y^e last year might be something lower, so also ther were some small furs that are not recconed in this accounte, & some black beaver at higer rates, to make up y^e defects. [217] It was conceived that y^e former parcells of beaver came to litle less then 10000^{li}. sterling, and y^e otter skins would pay all y^e charge, & they wth other furs make up besids if any thing wanted of y^e former sune. When y^e former accounte was passed, all their debts (those of White-Angelle & Frenship included) came but to 4770^{li}. And they could not estimate that all y^e supplies since sent them, & bills payed for them, could come to above 2000^{li}. so as they conceived their debts had been payed, with advantage or intrest. But it may be objected, how comes it that they could not as well exactly sett downe their receits, as their returnes, but thus estimate it. I answer, 2. things were y^e cause of it; the first & principall was, that y^e new accountante, which they in England would needs presse upon them, did wholly faile them, & could never give them any accounte; but trusting to his memorie, & lose papers, let things rune into such confusion, that neither he, nor any with him, could bring things to rights. But being often called upon to perfecte his accounts, he desired to have such a time, and such a time of leasure, and he would doe it. In y^e intrime he fell into a great sicknes, and in conclusion it fell out he could make no accounte at all. His books were after a litle good begining left altogeather unperfect; and his papers, some were lost, & others so confused, as he knew not what to make of them him selfe, when they came to be searched & examined. This was not unknowne to M^r. Sherley; and they came to smarte for it to purposse, (though it was not their faulte,) both thus in England, and also here; for they conceived they lost some hundreds of pounds for goods trusted out in y^e place, which were lost

for want of clear accounts to call them in. Another reason of this mischeefe was, that after M^r. Winslow was sente into England to demand accounts, and to excepte against y^e Whit-Angell, they never had any price sent with their goods, nor any certaine invoice of them; but all things stood in confusion, and they were faine to guesse at y^e prises of them.

They write back to M^r. Andrews & M^r. Beachamp, and tould them they marveled they should write they had sent nothing home since y^e last accounts; for they had sente a great deale; and it might rather be marveled how they could be able to send so much, besids defraying all charg at home, and what they had lost by the French, and so much cast away at sea, when M^r. Peirce lost his ship on y^e coast of Virginia.* What they had sente was to them all, and to them selves as well as M^r. Sherley, and if they did not looke after it, it was their owne falts; they must referr them to M^r. Sherley, who had received [218] it, to demand it of him. They allso write to M^r. Sherley to y^e same purposs, and what the others complaints were.

This year† 2. shallops going to Coonigtecutt with goods from y^e Massachusetts of such as removed theither to plante, were in an easterly storme cast away in coming into this harbore in y^e night; the boats men were lost, and y^e goods were driven all alonge y^e shore, and strowed up & downe at high-water marke. But y^e Gov^r caused them to be gathered up, and drawn together, and appointed some to take an inventory of them, and others to wash & drie such things as had neede therof; by which means most of y^e goods were saved, and restored to y^e owners. Afterwards anotheir boate of theirs (going thith-er likewise) was cast away near unto Manoanscussett,‡ and such goods as came a shore were preserved for them.

* Which latter was upwards of 800 lbs. of beaver, and some otter skins. See p. 304. — Ed.

† Winthrop (I. 169) records this under the date of October 6, 1635. — Ed.

‡ See page 234. — Ed.

Such crosses they mette with in their beginnings ; which some imputed as a correction from God for their intrusion (to y^e wrong of others) into y^t place. But I dare not be bould with Gods judgments in this kind.

In y^e year 1634, the Pequents (a stoute and warlike people), who had made warrs with sundry of their neighbours, and puft up with many victories, grue now at variance with y^e Narigansets, a great people bordering upon them. These Narigansets held correspondance and termes of freindship with y^e English of y^e Massachusetts. Now y^e Pequents, being conscious of y^e guilte of Captain-Stones death, whom they knew to be an-English man, as also those y^t were with him, and being fallen out with y^e Dutch, least they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make freindship with y^e English of y^e Massachusetts ; and for y^t end sent both messengers & gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from y^e Gov^r hither.

Dear & worthy S^r: &c. To let you know somewhat of our affairs, you may understand that y^e Pequents have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our freindship, and offered much wampam & beaver, &c. The first messengers were dismissed without answer ; with y^e next we had diverce dayes conferance, and taking y^e advice of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace & freindship with them, upon these conditions : that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stones death, &c. And if we desired to plant in Conightecute, they should give up their right to us, and so we would send to trade with them as our freinds (which was y^e cheefe thing we aimed at, being now in warr with y^e Dutch and y^e rest of their neighbours). To this they readily agreed ; and that we should meadiate a peace betweene them and the Narigansets ; for which end they were contente we should give the Narigansets parte of y^t presente, they would bestow on us (for they stood [219] so much on their honour, as they would not be seen to give any thing of them selves). As for Captein Stone, they tould us ther were but 2. left of those who had any hand in his death ; and that they killed him in a just quarell, for (say they) he surprised 2. of our men, and bound them, to make them

by force to shew him y^e way up y^e river ; * and he with 2. other coming on shore, 9. Indeans watched him, and when they were a sleepe in y^e night, they kiled them, to deliver their owne men ; and some of them going afterwards to y^e pinass, it was suddainly blowne up.† We are now preparing to send a pinass unto them, &c.

In an other of his, dated y^e 12. of y^e first monthi, he hath this.

Our pinass is latly returned from y^e Pequents ; they put of but litle comoditie, and found them a very false people, so as they mean to have no more to doe with them. I have diverce other things to write unto you, &c.

Yours ever assured,

JO: WINTHROP.

Boston, 12. of y^e 1. month, 1634.‡

After these things, and, as I take, this year,§ John Oldom, (of whom much is spoken before,) being now an inhabitant of y^e Massachusetts, went wth a small vessell, & slenderly mand, a trading into these south parts, and upon a quarell betweene him & y^e Indeans was cutt of by them (as hath been before noted) at an iland called by y^e Indeans Munisses, but since by y^e English Block Iland.|| This, with y^e former about the death of Stone, and the baffoyling of y^e Pequents with y^e English of y^e Massachusetts, moved them to set out some to take revenge, and require satisfaction for these wrongs ; but it was done so superfitially, and without their acquainting of those of Conightecute & other neighbours with y^e same, as they did litle good.¶ But their neigbours had more hurt done, for some of y^e murderers of Oldome fled to y^e Pequents,

* Ther is litle trust to be given to their relations in these things.

† See this same account in Winthrop, I. 148, related under date of November 6, 1634. — Ed.

‡ That is, March 12, 1634-5. — Ed.

§ In July. See p. 191, note. — Ed.

|| The discovery of this island is usually attributed to Block, in 1614, whose name it bears. But Verazzano, who

sailed along the coast in 1524, discovered an island, which from its description was probably Block Island. He named it "Claudia," in honor of the mother of Francis I. It bears this name on Lock's map of 1582, in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* of that date. See *Brodhead's New York*, p. 57. — Ed.

¶ Endicott's expedition in August, 1636. See Winthrop, I. 194, 195. — Ed.

and though the English went to y^e Pequents, and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them, & y^e English returned without doing any thing to purpose, being frustrate of their oppertunitie to cut of some of y^e English as they passed in boats, and went on fouling, and assaulted them the next spring at their habytations, as will appear in its place. I doe but touch these things, because I make no question they will be more fully & distinctly handled by them selves, who had more exacte knowledg of them, and whom they did more properly concerne.

This year Mr. Smith layed downe his place of ministrie, partly by his owne willingnes, as thinking it too heavie a burthen, and partly at the desire, and by y^e perswasion, of others; and the church sought out for [220] some other, having often been disappointed in their hops and desires heretofore. And it pleased the Lord to send them an able and a godly man,* and of a meeke and humble spirite, sound in y^e truth, and every way unreproueable in his life & conversation; whom, after some time of triall, they chose for their teacher, the fruits of whose labours they injoyed many years with much comforte, in peace, & good agreemente.

Anno Dom: 1637.†

IN y^e fore parte of this year, the Pequents fell openly upon y^e English at Conightecute, in y^e lower parts of y^e river, and slew sundry of them, (as they were at work in

* Mr. John Reinor. [Mr. Rayner remained with the church at Plymouth till 1654, when he dissolved his connection. He was afterwards settled at Dover, N. H., where he remained till his death, in 1669. See Plymouth Church Records; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, pp. 216, 217. — Ed.]

† This year, Governor Bradford was again called to the office of chief magistrate, and Edward Winslow, Timothy Hatherly, John Alden, William Collier, Thomas Prence, Miles Standish, and John Jenny were chosen Assistants. See Plymouth Colony Records. — Ed.

y^e feilds,) both men & women, to y^e great terrour of y^e rest; and wente away in great prid & triumph, with many high threats. They allso assaltd a fort* at y^e rivers mouth, though strong and well defended; and though they did not their prevaile, yet it struk them with much fear & astonishmente to see their bould attempts in the face of danger; which made them in all places to stand upon their gard, and to prepare for resistance, and earnestly to solissite their freinds and confederats in y^e Bay of Massachusetts to send them speedy aide, for they looked for more forcible assaults. Mr. Vane, being then Gov^r, write from their Generall Courte to them hear, to joyne with them in this warr; to which they were cordially willing, but tooke opportunitie to write to them aboute some former things, as well as presente, considerable hereabout. The which will best appear in y^e Gov^r answer which he returned to y^e same, which I shall here inserte.

S^r: The Lord having so disposed, as that your letters to our late Gov^r is fallen to my lott to make answer unto, I could have wished I might have been at more freedome of time & thoughts also, that I might have done it more to your & my owne satisfaction. But what shall be wanting now may be supplied hereafter. For y^e matters which from your selfe & counsell were propounded & objected to us, we thought not fitte to make them so publicke as y^e cognizance of our Generall Courte. But as they have been considered by those of our counsell, this answer we thinke fitt to returne unto you. (1.) Whereas you signifie your willingnes to joyne with us in this warr against y^e Pequents, though you cannot ingage your selves without y^e consente of your Generall Courte, we acknowledg your good affection towards us, (which we never had cause to doubt of,) and

* At Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. John Winthrop, Jr. returned from England in October, 1635, after about a year's absence, and brought a commission from Lord Say, Lord Brook, and others, to begin a settlement on this river. He was furnished with men and means for the

building of houses, and for the construction of fortifications there; and of this place he was constituted Governor for one year. See Winthrop, I. 170, 173, 174; Trumbull, I. 61; Gardner's Pequot War, in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 136 et seq. — Ed.

are willing to attend your full resolution, when it may most seasonably be ripened. (2^{y.}) Whereas you make this warr to be our peopls, and not [221] to conceirne your selves, otherwise then by consequence, we do in parte consente to you therin; yet we suppose, that, in case of perill, you will not stand upon such terms, as we hope we should not doe towards you; and withall we conceive that you looke at y^e Pequents, and all other Indians, as a comone enimie, who, though he may take ocession of y^e begining of his rage, from some one parte of y^e English, yet if he prevaile, will surly pursue his advantage, to y^e rooting out of y^e whole nation. Therfore when we desired your help, we did it not without respecte to your owne saftie, as ours. (3^{y.}) Whereas you desire we should be ingaged to aide you, upon all like occasions; we are perswaded you doe not doubte of it; yet as we now deale with you as a free people, and at libertie, so as we cannot draw you into this warr with us, otherwise then as reason may guid & provock you; so we desire we may be at y^e like freedome, when any occasion may call for help from us. And whereas it is objected to us, that we refused to aide you against y^e French; we conceive y^e case was not alicke; yet we cannot wholly excuse our failing in that matter. (4^{y.}) Whereas you objecte that we began y^e warr without your privitie, & managed it contrary to your advise; the truth is, that our first intentions being only against Block Iland, and y^e interprice seeming of small difficultie, we did not so much as consider of taking advice, or looking out for aide abroad. And when we had resolved upon y^e Pequents, we sent presently, or not long after, to you aboute it; but y^e answer received, it was not seasonable for us to chaing our counsell, excepte we had seen and waighed your grounds, which might have out wayed our owne.

(5^{y.}) For our peoples trading at Kenebeck, we assure you (to our knowledge) it hath not been by any allowance from us; and what we have provided in this and like cases, at our last Courte, M^r. E. W. can certifie you.

And (6^{y.}); whereas you objecte to us y^t we should hold trade & correspondancie with y^e French, your enemise; we answer, you are misinformed, for, besides some letters which hath passed betweene our late Gov^r and them, to which we were privie, we have neither sente nor encouraged ours to trade with them; only

one vessell or tow, for y^e better conveyance of our letters, had license from our Gov^r to sayle thither.*

Diverse other things have been privatly objected to us, by our worthy freind, wherunto he received some answer; but most of them concerning y^e apprehension of particuler discourtesies, or injureries from some particuler persons amongst us. It concerns us not to give any other answer to them then this; that, if y^e offenders shall be brought forth in a right way, we shall be ready to doe justice as y^e case shall require. In the meane time, we desire you to rest assured, that such things are without our privity, and not a litle greeveous unto us.

Now for y^e joyning with us in this warr, which indeed concerns us no other wise then it may your selves, viz.: the relieving of our freinds & Christian [222] breethren, who are now first in y^e danger; though you may thinke us able to make it good without you, (as, if y^e Lord please to be with us, we may,) yet 3. things we offer to your consideration, which (we conceive) may have some waight with you. (First) y^t if we should sinck under this burden, your opportunitee of seasonable help would be lost in 3. respects. 1. You cannot recover us, or secure your selves ther, with 3. times y^e charge & hazard which now y^e may. 2^y. The sorrowes which we should lye under (if through your neglect) would much abate of y^e acceptableness of your help afterwards. 3^y. Those of yours, who are now full of courage and forwardnes, would be much damped, and so less able to undergoe so great a burden. The (2.) thing is this, that it concernes us much to hasten this warr to an end before y^e end of this so^mer, otherwise y^e newes of it will discourage both your & our freinds from coming to us next year; with what further hazard & losse it may expose us unto, your selves may judge.

The (3.) thing is this, that if y^e Lord shall please to blesse our endeavours, so as we end y^e warr, or put it in a hopefull way without you, it may breed such ill thoughts in our people towards yours, as will be hard to entertaine such opinione of your good will towards us, as were fitt to be nurished among such neighbours & breethren as we are. And what ill consequences may follow, on both sides, wise men may fear, & would rather prevente then hope to redress. So with my harty salutations

* But by this means they did furnish them, & have still continued to doe.

to you selfe, and all your counsell, and other our good freinds with you, I rest

Yours most assured in y^e Lord,

Jo: WINTHROP.

Boston, y^e 20. of y^e 3. month,* 1637.

In y^e mean time, the Pequents, espetially in y^e winter before, sought to make peace with y^e Narigansets, and used very pernicious arguments to move them therunto: as that y^e English were stranegers and begane to overspred their countrie, and would deprive them therof in time, if they were suffered to grow & increse; and if y^e Narigansets did assist y^e English to subdute them, they did but make way for their owne overthrow, for if they were rooted out, the English would soone take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would harken to them, they should not neede to fear y^e strength of y^e English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their katle, and lye in ambush for them as they went abroad upon their occasions; and all this they might easily doe without any or litle danger to them selves. The which course being held, they well saw the English could not long subsiste, but they would either be starved with hunger, or be forced to forsake the countrie; with many y^e like things; insomuch that y^e Narigansets were once wavering, and were halfe minded to have made peace with them, and jo^yed against y^e English. But againe when they considered, how much wrong they had received from the Pequents, and what an opportunitie they now had by y^e help of y^e English to right them selves, revenge was so sweete unto them, as it prevailed above all y^e rest; so as they resolved to joyne with y^e English against them, & did. [223] The Court here † agreed forwith to send 50. men at their owne charg; and

* That is, the 20th of May, 1637. Winthrop refers to this letter, Vol. I. p. 219. He succeeded Vane as Governor on the 17th of this month. — Ed.

† The Court which met June 7th agreed to send sixty men under the command of Lieutenant William Holmes. Plymouth Colony Records. — Ed.

wth as much speed as posiblie they could, gott them armed, and had made them ready under sufficiente leaders, and provided a barke to carrie them provisions & tend upon them for all occasions; but when they were ready to march (with a supply from y^e Bay) they had word to stay, for y^e enemy was as good as vanquished, and their would be no neede.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in these things, because I expecte it will be fully done by them selves,* who best know the carrage & circumstances of things; I shall therfore but touch them in generall. From Connightecute (who were most sencible of y^e hurt sustained, & y^e present danger), they sett out a partie of men, and an other partie mett them from y^e Bay, at y^e Narigansets, who were to joyne with them. Y^e Narigansets were earnest to be gone before y^e English were well rested and refreshte, espetially some of them which came last. It should seeme their desire was to come upon y^e enemy sudenly, & undiscovered. Ther was a barke of this place, newly put in ther, which was come from Conightecutte, who did incourage them to lay hold of y^e Indeans forwardnes, and to shew as great forwardnes as they, for it would incorage them, and expedition might prove to their great advantage. So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the Indeans brought them to a forte of y^e enemies † (in which most of their cheefe

* Of the narratives of the Pequot war written by persons who were actors therein, may be mentioned those of Captain Mason, Captain Underhill, Lieutenant Gardner, commander of the Saybrook fort, and one bearing the name of P. Vincent. That by Captain Mason, published by Prince from the original manuscript, in 1736, may be considered the most valuable. All these are published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The original materials relating to this portion of New England history are wrought into a con-

densed and perspicuous narrative by Dr. Trumbull, in his History of Connecticut. — Ed.

† This was Mystic fort, near the river of that name, a few miles east of Fort Griswold. The attack was made on the morning of the 26th of May. The relation afforded by Governor Winthrop in the following letter has reference, it will be seen, to a subsequent stage of their proceedings. See Davis's ed. of the Memorial, pp. 189–196; Winthrop, I. 225; Trumbull, I. 84; Mason's Brief History, p. 10. — Ed.

men were) before day. They approached y^e same with great silence, and surrounded it both with English & Indians, that they might not breake out; and so assualted them with great courage, shooting amongst them, and entered y^e forte with all speed; and those y^t first entered found sharp resistance from the enimie, who both shott at & grapled with them; others rane into their howses, & brought out fire, and sett them on fire, which soone tooke in their matts, &, standing close togeather, with y^e wind, all was quickly on a flame, and therby more were burnte to death then was otherwise slain; it burnte their bowstrings, & made them unservisable. Those y^t scaped y^e fire were slaine with y^e sword; some hewed to peeces, others rune throw with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatchte, and very few escaped. It was conceived they thus destroyed about 400. at this time. It was a fearfull sight to see them thus frying in y^e fyer, and y^e streams of blood quenching y^e same, and horrible was y^e stinck & sente ther of; but y^e victory seemed a sweete sacrifice, and they gave the prays therof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to inclose their enimise in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud & insulting an enimie. The Narigansett Indians, all this while, stood round aboute, but aloofe from all danger, and left y^e whole [224] execution to y^e English, exsept it were y^e stoping of any y^t broke away, insulting over their enimies in this their ruine & miserie, when they saw them dancing in y^e flames, calling them by a word in their owne language, signifying, O brave Pequents! which they used familierly among them selves in their own prayes, in songs of triumph after their victories. After this servis was thus happily accomplished, they marcht to the water side, wher they mett with some of their vesells, by which they had refreishing with victualls & other necessities. But in their march y^e rest of y^e Pequents drew into a body, and acoasted them, thinking to

have some advantage against them by * reason of a neck of land; but when they saw the English prepare for them, they kept a loofe, so as they neither did hurt, nor could receive any. After their refreishing & repair to geather for further counsell & directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow y^e warr against y^e rest, but y^e Narigansett Indeans most of them forsooke them, and such of them as they had with them for guides, or otherwise, they found them very could and backward in y^e bussines, ether out of envie, or y^t they saw y^e English would make more profite of y^e victorie then they were willing they should, or els deprive them of such advantage as them selves desired by having them become tributaries unto them, or y^e like.

For y^e rest of this bussines, I shall only relate y^e same as it is in a leter which came from Mr. Winthrop to y^e Gov^r hear, as followeth.

Worthy S^r: I received your loving letter, and am much provoked to express my affections towards you, but straitnes of time forbids me; for my desire is to acquainte you with y^e Lords greate mercies towards us, in our prevailing against his & our enimies; that you may rejoyce and praise his name with us. About 80. of our men, haveing costed along towards y^e Dutch plantation, (some times by water, but most by land,) mett hear & ther with some Pequents, whom they slew or tooke prisoners. 2. sachems they tooke, & beheaded; and not hearing of Sassacous, (the cheefe sachem,) they gave a prisoner his life, to goe and find him out. He wente and brought them word wher he was, but Sassacouse, suspecting him to be a spie, after he was gone, fled away with some 20. more to y^e Mowakes, so our men missed of him. Yet, deviding them selves, and ranging up & downe, as y^e providence of God guided them (for y^e Indeans were all gone, save 3. or 4. and they knew not whither to guid them, or els would not), upon y^e 13. of this month, they light upon a great company of them, viz. 80. strong men, & 200. women & children, in a small Indean towné, fast by a hideous

swamp,* which they all slipped into before our men could gett to them. Our captains were not then come together, but ther was Mr. Ludlow and Captaine Masson, with some 10. [225] of their men, & Captaine Patrick with some 20. or more of his, who, shooting at y^e Indeans, Captaine Trask with 50. more came soone in at y^e noyse. Then they gave order to surround y^e swampe, it being aboute a mile aboute; but Levetenante Davenport & some 12. more, not hearing that comānd, fell into y^e swampe among y^e Indeans. The swampe was so thicke with shrub-woode, & so boggie with all, that some of them stuck fast, and received many shott. Levetenant Davenport was dangerously wounded aboute his arnehole, and another shott in y^e head, so as, fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by y^e Indeans. But Sargante Rigges, & Jeffery, and 2. or 3. more, rescued them, and slew diverse of y^e Indeans with their swords. After they were drawne out, the Indeans desired parley, & were offered (by Thomas Stanton, our interpretour) that, if they would come out, and yeeld them selves, they should have their lives, all that had not their hands in y^e English blood. Wherupon y^e sachem of y^e place came forth, and an old man or 2. & their wives and children, and after that some other women & children, and so they spake 2. howers, till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sente into them againe, to call them forth; but they said they would selle their lives their, and so shott at him so thicke as, if he had not cried out, and been presently rescued, they had slaine him. Then our men cutt of a place of y^e swampe with their swords, and cooped the Indeans into so narrow a compass, as they could easier kill them throw y^e thickets. So they continued all y^e night, standing aboute 12. foote one from an other, and y^e Indeans, coming close up to our men, shot their arrows so thicke, as they peirced their hatte brimes, & their sleeves, & stockins, & other parts of their cloaths, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them as not one of them was wounded, save those 3. who rashly went into y^e swampe. When it was nere day, it grue very darke, so as those of them which were left dropt away betweene our men, though they stood but 12. or 14. foote assunder; but were presently discovered, & some killed in y^e pursute. Upon searching of y^e swampe, y^e next morning, they found 9. slaine, & some

* Within the present town of Fairfield. Trumbull, 1. 90. — Ed.

they pulled up, whom y^e Indeans had buried in y^e mire, so as they doe thinke that, of all this company, not 20. did escape, for they after found some who dyed in their flight of their wounds received. The prisoners were devided, some to those of y^e river, and the rest to us. Of these we send y^e male children to Bermuda,* by Mr. William Peirce, & y^e women & maid children are disposed aboute in y^e townes. Ther have been now slaine & taken, in all, aboute 700. The rest are dispersed, and the Indeans in all quarters so terrified as all their friends are affraid to receive them. 2. of y^e sachems of Long Iland came to Mr. Stoughton and tendered them selves to be tributaries under our protection. And 2. of y^e Neepnett sachems have been with me to seeke our frendship. Amonge the prisoners we have y^e wife & children of Mononotto, a womon of a very modest countenance and behaviour. It was by her mediation that the † 2. English [226] maids were spared from death, and were kindly used by her; so that I have taken charge of her. One of her first requests was, that the English would not abuse her body, and that her children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded were fetched of soone by John Galopp, who came with his shalop in a happie houre, to bring them victuals, and to carrie their wounded men to y^e piñass, wher our cheefe surgeon was, wth Mr. Willson, being aboute 8. leagues off. Our people are all in health, (y^e Lord be praised,) and allthough they had marched in their armes all y^e day, and had been in fight all y^e night, yet they professed they found them selves so fresh as they could willingly have gone to such another bussines.

• This is y^e substance of that which I received, though I am forced to omite many considerable circomstances. So, being in much straitnes of time, (the ships being to departe within this 4. days, and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane,) I hear breake of, and with harty saluts to, &c., I rest

Yours assured,

Jo: WINTHROP.

The 28. of y^e 5. month, ‡ 1637.

The captains reporte we have slaine 13. sachems; but Sassacouse & Monotto are yet living.

* But y^ey were carried to y^e West-Indeas.

† They in the manuscript. — Ed.

‡ That is, the 28th of July. — Ed.

That I may make an end of this matter: this Sassacouse (y^e Pequents cheefe sachem) being fled to y^e Mowhakes, they cutt of his head, with some other of y^e cheefe of them, whether to satisfie y^e English, or rather y^e Narigansets, (who, as I have since heard, hired them to doe it,) or for their owne advantage, I well know not; but thus this warr tooke end. The rest of y^e Pequents were wholly driven from their place, and some of them submitted themselves to y^e Narigansets, & lived under them; others of them betooke themselves to y^e Monhiggs, under Uncass, their sachem, wth the approbation of y^e English of Conih-tecutt, under whose protection Uncass lived, and he and his men had been faithful to them in this warr, & done them very good service. But this did so vex the Narigansetts, that they had not y^e whole sweay over them, as they have never ceased plotting and contriving how to bring them under, and because they cannot attaine their ends, because of y^e English who have protected them, they have sought to raise a generall conspiracie against y^e English, as will appear in an other place.

They had now letters againe out of England from Mr. Andrews & Mr. Beachamp, that Mr. Sherley neither had nor would pay them any money, or give them any accounte, and so with much discontent desired them hear to send them some, much blaming them still, that they had sent all to Mr. Sherley, & none to them selves. Now, though they might have justly referred them to their former answer, and insisted ther upon, & some wise men counselled them so to doe, yet because they beleevd that [227] they were realy out round sumes of money, (espetially Mr. Andrews,) and they had some in their hands, they resolved to send them what bever they had.* Mr. Sherleys letters were to this purpose: that, as they had left him in y^e paiment of y^e former bills, so he had tould

* But staid it till y^e next year.

them he would leave them in this, and beleeeve it, they should find it true. And he was as good as his word, for they could never gett peney from him, nor bring him to any accounte, though M^r. Beachamp sued him in y^e Chancerie. But they all of them turned their complaints against them here, wher ther was least cause, and who had suffered most unjustly; first from M^r. Allerton & them, in being charged with so much of y^t which they never had, nor drunke for; and now in paying all, & more then all (as they conceived), and yet still thus more demanded, and that with many heavie charges. They now discharged M^r. Sherley from his agencie, and forbad him to buy or send over any more goods for them, and prest him to come to some end about these things.

Anno Dom: 1638.

THIS year M^r. Thomas Prence was chosen Gov^r.*

Amongst other enormities that fell out amongst them, this year 3. men were (after due triall) executed for robbery & murder which they had committed; their names were these, Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson, and Richard Stinnings; ther was a 4., Daniel Crose, who was also guilty, but he escaped away, and could not be found. This Arthur Peach was y^e cheefe of them, and y^e ring leader of all y^e rest. He was a lustie and a desperate

* Mr. Prence was not again elected chief magistrate till the year of Governor Bradford's decease, in 1657. He was then chosen, and continued in that office by renewed election for sixteen consecutive years, till his death in 1673. He was then succeeded by Josiah Winslow. See Morton's Memorial.

Governor Prence came over in the Fortune in 1621, being then about 21 years of age. In 1624 he married Patience, a daughter of Elder Brewster, who died in 1631. In the next year he married Mary, a daughter of William Collier, who survived him. He was one

of the first settlers of Eastham in 1644, at which place he continued to reside till 1665, when he returned to Plymouth. An ample notice of him and his family will be found in Davis's edition of the Memorial, pp. 421-425, and in Moore's Memoirs of American Governors. It appears that he left no male descendants. The Governor uniformly wrote his name *Prence*, though Morton and others wrote it *Prince*.

The Assistants this year were William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Miles Standish, John Alden, John Jenny, John Atwood, and John Brown. — Ed.

yonge man, and had been one of y^e souldiers in y^e Pequente warr, and had done as good servise as y^e most ther, and one of y^e forwardest in any attempte. And being now out of means, and loath to worke, and falling to idle courses & company, he intended to goe to y^e Dutch plantation; and had alured these 3., being other mens servants and apprentices, to goe with him. But another cause ther was allso of his secret going away in this maner; he was not only rune into debte, but he had gott a maid with child, (which was not known till after his death,) a mans servante in y^e towne, and fear of punishmente made him gett away. The other 3. complotting with him, ran away from their maisters in the night, and could not be heard of, for they went not y^e ordinarie way, but shaped such a course as they thought to avoyd y^e pursute [228] of any. But falling into y^e way that lyeth betweene y^e Bay of Massachusetts and the Narrigansets, and being disposed to rest them selves, struck fire, and took tobaco, a litle out of y^e way, by y^e way side. At length ther came a Narigansett Indean by, who had been in y^e Bay a trading, and had both cloth & beads aboute him. (They had meett him y^e day before, & he was now returning.) Peach called him to drinke tobaco with them, and he came & sate downe with them. Peach tould y^e other he would kill him, and take what he had from him. But they were some thing afraid; but he said, Hang him, rogue, he had killed many of them. So they let him alone to doe as he would; and when he saw his time, he tooke a rapier and rane him through the body once or twise, and tooke from him 5. fathume of wampam, and 3. coats of cloath, and wente their way, leaving him for dead. But he scrabled away, when they were gone, and made shift to gett home, (but dyed within a few days after,) by which means they were discovered; and by subtilty the Indeans tooke them. For they desiring a canow to sett them over a water, (not thinking their facte had been known,) by y^e sachems

comānd they were carried to Aquidnett Iland, & ther accused of y^e murder, and were examēd & comitted upon it by y^e English ther. The Indeans sent for M^r. Williams, & made a greeveous complainte; his freinds and kinred were ready to rise in armes, and provock the rest therunto, some conceiving they should now find y^e Pequents words trew: that y^e English would fall upon them. But M^r. Williams pacified them, & tould them they should see justice done upon y^e offenders; & wente to y^e man, & tooke M^r. James, a phisition, with him. The man tould him who did it, & in what maner it was done; but y^e phisition found his wounds mortall, and that he could not live, (as he after testified upon othe, before y^e jurie in oppen courte,) and so he dyed shortly after, as both M^r. Williams, M^r. James, & some Indeans testified in courte. The Gov^r in y^e Bay were aquented with it, but refferd it hither, because it was done in this jurisdiction;* but pressed by all means y^t justice might be done in it; or els y^e countrie must rise & see justice done, otherwise it would raise a warr. Yet some of y^e rude & ignorante sorte murmured that any English should be put to death for y^e Indeans. So at last they of y^e iland brought them hither, and being often examened, & y^e evidence prodused, they all in the end freely confessed in effect all y^t the Indian accused them of, & that they had done it, in y^e maner afforesaid; and so, upon y^e forementioned evidence, were cast by y^e jurie,† & condemned, & executed for the same.

* And yet afterwards they laid claime to those parts in y^e controversie about Seacunk. [Winthrop notices this homicide under date of August of this year. Mr. Williams, of Providence, had written to him, informing him of the arrest of Peach and his companions at Rhode Island, and desiring advice as to the disposition to be made of them. Winthrop "returned answer, that, seeing they were of Plymouth, they should certify Plymouth of them, and if they would send for them, to deliver them; otherwise, seeing no English had juris-

diction in the place where the murder was committed, neither had they at the island any government established, it would be safer to deliver the principal, who was certainly known to have killed the party, to the Indians his friends." The grounds for the advice here given as to the question of jurisdiction do not correspond with the statement in the text by our author. See the letter of Williams noticed above, in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 171-173. — Ed.]

† Sept. 4. [See Plymouth Colony Records, under this date. — Ed.]

And some of y^e Narigansett Indeans, & of y^e parties freinds, were presente when it was done, which gave them & all y^e countrie good satisfaction. But it was a matter of much sadnes to them hear, and was y^e 2. execution which they had since they came ;* being both for wilfull murder, as hath bene before related. Thus much of this mater.

[229] They received this year more letters from England full of renewed complaints, on y^e one side, that they could gett no money nor accounte from M^r. Sherley ; & he againe, y^t he was pressed therto, saying he was to accounte with those hear, and not with them, &c. So, as was before resolved, if nothing came of their last letters, they would now send them what they could, as supposing, when some good parte was payed them, that M^r. Sherley & they would more easily agree aboute y^e remainder.

So they sent to M^r. Andrews and M^r. Beachamp, by M^r. Joseph Yonge, in y^e Mary & Anne, 1325^{li}. waight of beaver, devided betweene them. M^r. Beachamp returned an accounte of his moyety, that he made 400^{li}. starling of it, freight and all charges paid. But M^r. Andrews, though he had y^e more and beter parte, yet he made not so much of his, through his owne indiscretion ; and yet turned y^e loss† upon them hear, but without cause.

They sent them more by bills & other paimente, which was received & acknowledged by them, in money‡ & y^e like ; which was for katle sould of M^r. Allertons, and y^e price of a bark sold, which belonged to y^e stock, and made over to them in money, 434^{li}. sterling. The whole sune was 1234^{li}. sterling, save what M^r. Andrews lost in y^e beaver, which was otherwise made good. But yet this did not stay their clamors, as will appeare here after more at large.

It pleased God, in these times, so to blesse y^e cuntry with such access & confluence of people into it, as it was

* The other execution was that of John Billington, in 1630. See pages 276, 277. — Ed.

† Being about 40^{li}.

‡ And devided betweene them.

therby much inriched, and catle of all kinds stood at a high rate for diuerce years together. Kine were sould at 20^{li}. and some at 25^{li}. a peece, yea, some times at 28^{li}. A cow-calfc usually at 10^{li}. A milch goate at 3^{li}. & some at 4^{li}. And femall kids at 30^s. and often at 40^s. a peece. By which means y^e anciente planters which had any stock begane to grow in their estats. Corne also wente at a round rate, viz. 6^s. a bushell. So as other trading begane to be neglected; and the old partners (having now forbidden Mr. Sherley to send them any more goods) broke of their trade at Kenebeck, and, as things stood, would follow it no longer. But some of them, (with other they joynd with,) being loath it should be lost by discontinuance, agreed with y^e company for it, and gave them aboute y^e 6. parte of their gaines for it; [230] with y^e first fruits of which they builde a house for a prison; and the trade ther hath been since continued, to y^e great benefite of y^e place; for some well fore-sawe that these high prises of corne and catle would not long continue, and that then y^e comodities ther raised would be much missed.

This year, aboute y^e 1. or 2. of June,* was a great & fearfull earthquake; it was in this place heard before it was felte. It came with a rumbling noyse, or low murmure, like unto remoate thunder; it came from y^e norward, & pased southward. As y^e noyse aproched nerer, they earth begane to shake, and came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, & such like things as stode upon shelves, to clatter & fall downe; yea, persons were afraid of y^e houses them selves. It so fell oute y^t at y^e same time diuerse of y^e cheefe of this towne were mett together at one house, conferring with some of their freinds that were upon their removall from y^e place, (as if y^e Lord would herby shew y^e signes of his displeasure, in their shaking a peeces & removalls one from an other.)

* Winthrop and Johnson notice this earthquake as occurring on the 1st of June. — ED.

How ever it was very terrible for y^e time, and as y^e men were set talking in y^e house, some women & others were without y^e dores, and y^e earth shooke with y^t violence as they could not stand without catching hould of y^e posts & pails y^t stood next them; but y^e violence lasted not long. And about halfe an hower, or less, came an other noyse & shaking, but nether so loud nor strong as y^e former, but quickly passed over; and so it ceased. It was not only on y^e sea coast, but y^e Indeans felt it within land; and some ships that were upon y^e coast were shaken by it. So powerfull is y^e mighty hand of y^e Lord, as to make both the earth & sea to shake, and the mountaines to tremble before him, when he pleases; and who can stay his hand? It was observed that y^e soimers, for divers years togeather after this earthquake, were not so hotte & seasonable for y^e ripning of corne & other fruits as formerly; but more could & moyst, & subjecte to erly & untimly frosts, by which, many times, much Indean corne came not to maturitie; but whether this was any cause, I leave it to naturallists to judge.

*Anno Dom: 1639. & Anno Dom: 1640.**

THESE 2. years I joyne togeather, because in them fell not out many things more then y^e ordinary passages of their comone affaires, which are not needfull to be touched. [231] Those of this plantation having at sundrie times granted lands for severall townships, and amongst y^e rest to y^e inhabitants of Sityate, some wherof issewed from them selves, and allso a large tracte of land was given to

* Governor Bradford in 1639 was again elected chief magistrate of the colony, and, with the exception of the year 1644, when Winslow was chosen, was continued in office by re-election till his decease, in 1657. The Assistants this year were Thomas Prence,

Miles Standish, John Alden, John Brown, William Collier, Timothy Hatherly, and John Jenny. In 1640, the Assistants were the same, except that Edmund Freeman was substituted for John Alden. See Plymouth Colony Records. — Ed.

their 4. London partners in y^t place, viz. M^r. Sherley, M^r. Beacham, M^r. Andrews, & M^r. Hatherley. At M^r. Hatherley's request and choys it was by him taken for him selfe and them in y^t place; for the other 3. had invested him with power & trust to chose for them. And this tracte of land extended to their utmost limets that way, and bordered on their neighbours of y^e Massachusetts, who had some years after seated a towne (called Hingam) on their lands next to these parts. So as now ther grue great difference betweene these 2. townships, about their bounds, and some meadow grownds that lay betweene them. They of Hingam presumed to allotte parte of them to their people, and measure & stack them out. The other pulled up their stacks, & threw them. So it grew to a controversie betweene the 2. governments, & many letters and passages were betweene them aboute it; and it hunge some 2. years in suspense. The Courte of Massachusetts appointed some to range their line according to y^e bounds of their patente, and (as they wente to worke) they made it to take in all Sityate, and I know not how much more. Againe, on y^e other hand, according to y^e line of y^e patente of this place, it would take in Hingame and much more within their bounds.

In y^e end boath Courts agreed to chose 2. comissioners of each side, and to give them full & absolute power to agree and setle y^e bounds betwene them; and what they should doe in y^e case should stand irrevocably. One meeting they had at Hingam, but could not conclude; for their comissioners stode stiffly on a claves in their graunte, That from Charles-river, or any branch or parte therof, they were to extend their limits, and 3. myles further to y^e southward; or from y^e most southward parte of y^e Massachusetts Bay, and 3. mile further. But they chose to stand on y^e former termes, for they had found a smale river, or brooke rather, that a great way with in land trended southward, and issued into some part of y^t river

taken to be Charles-river, and from y^e most southerly part of this, & 3. mile more southward of y^e same, they would rune a line east to y^e sea, aboute 20. mile; which will (say they) take in a part of Plimoth itselfe. Now it is to be knowne y^t though this patente & plantation were much the ancients, yet this enlargemente of y^e same (in which Sityate stood) was granted after theirs, and so theirs were first to take place, before this enlargemente.* Now their answer was, first, that, however according to their owne plan, they could noway come upon any part of their anciente grante. [232] 2^{ly}. They could never prove y^t to be a parte of Charles-river, for they knew not which was Charles-river, but as y^e people of this place, which came first, imposed such a name upon y^t river, upon which, since, Charles-towne is builte (supposing y^t was it, which Captaine Smith in his mapp so named).† Now they y^t first named it have best reason to know it, and to explaine which is it. But they only tooke it to be Charles river, as fare as it was by them navigated, and y^t was as farr as a boate could goe. But y^t every runlett or small brooke, y^t should, farr within land, come into it, or mixe their

* The grant from the Council of the territory of Massachusetts was made March 19th, 1627-8. The charter of incorporation from the king was obtained the next year, March 4th, 1628-9. The Warwick patent of New Plymouth, defining the boundaries of that colony, is dated January 13th, 1629-30. In the first patent granted to the Plymouth people, in 1621, their territorial limits are not defined; the planters had liberty to make choice of any land not already inhabited, or granted to others. The terms and conditions of the second patent, surreptitiously obtained the next year by Peirce, and assigned by him to the adventurers in 1623, are not known. If it ever came to the colony, it is not now extant. See pages 107, 139; Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp. 2, 3, 23; Plymouth Colony Laws, Brigham's ed., p. 23; 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., II. 156-163. — Ed.

† "The River Charles" is laid down on Captain Smith's map, first published in 1616, in his Description of New England; but it is very evident that he never saw the stream which now bears that name. He probably never entered Boston harbor, but shot across the bay. The Indians had told him of a river called the "Massachusetts River," and he supposed he saw the mouth of it at the bottom of the bay. In a later work he says: "I took the fairest reach in this bay for a river, whereupon I called it Charles River"; but later visitors of whom he is speaking, who had explored the harbor, "find that fair channel to divide itself into so many fair branches as to make forty or fifty pleasant islands within that excellent bay." See Smith's Advertisements, &c., in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 34. — Ed.

stremes with it, and were by y^e natives called by other & differente names from it, should now by them be made Charles-river, or parts of it, they saw no reason for it. And gave instance in Humber, in Old England, which had y^e Trente, Ouse, and many others of lesser note fell into it, and yet were not counted parts of it; and many smaler rivers & broks fell into y^e Trente, & Ouse, and no parts of them, but had nams aparte, and divisions & nominations of them selves. Againe, it was pleaded that they had no east line in their patente, but were to begine at y^e sea, and goe west by a line, &c. At this meeting no conclusion was made, but things discussed & well prepared for an issue. The next year y^e same comissioners had their power continued or renewed, and mett at Sityate, and concluded y^e mater, as followeth.

The agreemente of y^e bounds betwixte Plimoth and Massachusetts.

Wheras ther were tow comissiones granted by y^e 2. jurisdictions, y^e one of Massachsets Gouvernente, granted unto John Endecott, gent: and Israell Stoughton, gent: the other of New-Plimoth Gouvernente, to William Bradford, Gov^r, and Edward Winslow, gent: and both these for y^e setting out, settling, & determining of y^e bounds & limitts of y^e lands betweene y^e said jurisdictions, wherby not only this presente age, but y^e posteritie to come may live peaceably & quietly in y^e behalfe. And for as much as y^e said comissioners on both sids have full power so to doe, as appeareth by y^e records of both jurisdictions; we therefore, y^e said comissioners above named, doe hearby with one consente & agreemente conclude, detirmine, and by these presents declare, that all y^e marshes at Conahasett y^e lye of y^e one side of y^e river next to Hingam, shall belong to y^e jurisdiction of Massachusetts Plantation; and all y^e marshes y^e lye on y^e other side of y^e river next to Sityate, shall be long to y^e jurisdiction of New-Plimoth; excepting 60. acers of marsh at y^e mouth of y^e river, on Sityate side next to the sea, which we doe herby agree, conclude, & detirmine shall belong to y^e jurisdiction of Massachusetts. And further, we doe hearby agree, determine, and

conclude, y^t the bounds of y^e limites betweene both y^e said jurisdictions are as followeth, viz. from y^e mouth of y^e brook y^t runeth into Chonahasset marches (which we call by y^e name of Bound-brooke) with a stright & directe line to y^e midle of a great ponde, y^t lyeth on y^e right hand of y^e uper path, or commone way, y^t leadeth betweene Waimoth and Plimoth, close to y^e path as [233] we goe alonge, which was formerly named (and still we desire may be caled) Accord pond, lying aboute five or 6. myles from Weimoth southerley; and from thence with a straight line to y^e souther-most part of Charles-river,* & 3. miles southerly, inward into y^e countrie, according as is expresed in y^e patente granted by his Ma^{tie} to y^e Company of y^e Massachusetts Plantation. Provided allways and never y^e less concluded & determined by mutuall agreemente betweene y^e said comissioners, y^t if it fall out y^t the said line from Accord-pond to y^e sothermost parte of Charles-river, & 3. myles southerly as is before expresed, straiten or hinder any parte of any plantation begune by y^e Gove^{rt} of New-Plimoth, or hereafter to be begune within 10. years after y^e date of these ps^{ns}, that then, notwithstanding y^e said line, it shall be lawfull for y^e said Gov^{rt} of New-Plimoth to assume on y^e northerly side of y^e said line, wher it shall so intrench as afforesaid, so much land as will make up y^e quantity of eight miles square, to belong to every shuch plantation begune, or to [be] begune as afforesaid; which we agree, determine, & conclude to appertaine & belong to y^e said Gov^{rt} of New-Plimoth. And wheras y^e said line, from y^e said brooke which runeth into Choahassett saltmarshes, called by us Bound-brooke, and y^e pond called Accord-pond, lyeth nere y^e lands belonging to y^e townships of Sityate & Hingam, we doe therfore hereby determine & conclude, that if any devissions already made and recorded, by either y^e said townships, doe crose the said line, that then it shall stand, & be of force according to y^e former intents and purposes of y^e said townes granting them (the marshes formerly agreed on exep^{ted}). And y^t no towne in either jurisdiction shall hereafter exceede, but containe themselves within y^e said lines expresed. In witnes wherof we, the comissioners of both jurisdictions, doe by these presents indented set our hands & seales y^e ninth day of y^e 4. month in

* Which is Charles River may still be questioned.

16. year of our souveraine lord, king Charles ; and in y^e year of our Lord, 1640.*

WILLIAM BRADFORD, GOV^r. JO: ENDECOTT.

ED: WINSLOW.

ISRAELL STOUGHTON.

Wheras y^e patente was taken in y^e name of William Bradford, (as in trust,) and rane in these termes: To him, his heires, and associats & assignes ; and now y^e noumber of free-men being much increased, and diverce townships established and setled in severall quarters of y^e govermente, as Plimoth, Duxberie, Sityate, Tanton, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marchfeeld, and not longe after, Seacunke (called afterward, at y^e desire of y^e inhabitants, Rehoboth) and Nawsett, it was by y^e Courte desired that William Bradford should make a surrender of y^e same into their hands. The which he willingly did, in this maner following.

Wheras William Bradford, and diverce others y^e first instruments of God in the begiñing of this great work of plantation, togeather with such as y^e allordering hand of God in his providence soone added unto them, have been at very great charges to procure y^e lands, priviledges, & freedoms from all intanglements, as may appeare by diverse & sundrie deeds, inlargments of grants, purchases, and payments of debts, &c., by reason wherof y^e title to y^e day of these presents [234] remaineth in y^e said William Bradford, his heires, associats, and assignes : now, for y^e better setling of y^e estate of the said lands (contained in y^e grant or pattente), the said William Bradford, and those first instruments termed & called in sondry orders upon publick recorde, Y^e Purchasers, or Old comers ; † witnes 2. in spetiall, the

* This question of boundary between the two colonies was not finally settled till the year 1664. See Records of Mass., IV. Part 2, pp. 114-116.—Ed.

† The record of December 1, 1640, may be seen in Hazard, taken from the Plymouth Colony Records, and a list of the names of the "Purchasers," fifty-eight in number, is subjoined to it. Judge Davis expresses the opinion, that by the term "Purchasers" is here in-

tended those who united in hiring the trade of the colony for six years. This is doubtless a misapprehension ; it being far more probable that by it is intended those who purchased from the Adventurers, at the expiration of the seven years' copartnership, all their interest in the plantation. The Purchasers, or Old Comers, therefore, would embrace those who represented the colony at that time. All these names in Hazard

one bearing date y^e 3. of March, 1639. the other in Des: the 1. An^o 1640. wherunto these presents have spetiall relation & agremente, and wherby they are distinguished from other y^e freemen & inhabitants of y^e said corporation. Be it knowne unto all men, therfore, by these presents, that the said William Bradford, for him selfe, his heires, together with y^e said purchasers, doe only reserve unto them selves, their heires, and assignes those 3. tractes of land mentioned in y^e said resolution, order, and agremente, bearing date y^e first of Des: 1640. viz. first, from y^e bounds of Yarmouth, 3. miles to y^e eastward of Naemschatet, and from sea to sea, crose the neck of land. The 2. of a place called Acoughcouss, which lyeth in y^e botome of y^e bay adjoyning to y^e west-side of Pointe Perill, and 2. myles to y^e western side of y^e said river, to an other place called Acushente river, which entereth at y^e western end of Nacata, and 2. miles to y^e eastward therof, and to extend 8. myles up into y^e countrie. The 3. place,* from Sowansett river to Patucket river, (with Cawsumsett neck,) which is y^e cheefe habitation of y^e Indeans,

will be found in the list relative to the division of cattle in 1627, with the exception of the names of six persons, who sustained a different relation to the colony, but who, if not interested in the purchase, were thought worthy to have a place in this list. Those who hired the trade of the colony for six years were eight of the "cheefe" persons in the plantation, who were called the "Undertakers." They had before jointly assumed for the colony the payment of the 1800*l.* sterling for the purchase from the Adventurers, and now entered into this agreement for the purpose of enabling them to discharge that obligation, and also to furnish means to help over some of their friends and brethren from Leyden, who desired to be with them. They assumed also all the other debts which then lay upon the colony, estimated at 600*l.*; agreeing, besides, to furnish to the colony annually the value of 50*l.* in hose and shoes. There is no evidence that the undertakers in the colony ever exceeded the original number of eight. Four of their friends in London, who were before interested as adventurers, and whose names are found on page 227, united in the partnership with them in the prosecution of

the trade, the history of which Bradford has so minutely detailed in these pages. All the expenses incurred in procuring their patent, as well as for the transportation of the two companies of Leyden people, and everything else of that nature, were borne by the undertakers.

Judge Davis appears also to have misapprehended another point. In 1626 Mr. Allerton was sent to England partly to see if some composition could be made with the adventurers, in which Captain Standish had made some progress the year before, and also to make some provision for the colony, which was in a necessitous condition. He carried with him a commission authorizing him to hire the sum of 100*l.* for the payment of which nine persons in the colony became jointly bound. Judge Davis has mistaken this obligation for that assumed the next year by the undertakers in agreeing to pay the 1800*l.* for the purchase from the adventurers. See pp. 210-214, 225, 228; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, pp. 388, 389, 392, 393, 403-405; Bradford's Letter-Book, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., pp. 46, 60. — Ed.

* For the location of these reserved tracts, see Davis's edition of the Memorial, p. 405. — Ed.

& reserved for them to dwell upon,) extending into y^e land 8. myles through y^e whole breadth therof. Togeather with such other small parcells of lands as they or any of them are personally possessed of or intressed in, by vertue of any former titles or grante whatsoever. And y^e said William Bradford doth, by y^e free & full consente, approbation, and agreemente of y^e said old-planters, or purchasers, together with y^e liking, approbation, and acceptation of y^e other parte of y^e said corporation, surrender into y^e hands of y^e whole courte, consisting of y^e free-men of this corporation of New-Plimoth, all y^t other right & title, power, authority, priviledges, immunities, & freedoms granted in y^e said letters patents by y^e said right Honb^{le} Counsell for New-England; reserveing his & their personall right of free-men, together wth the said old planters afforesaid, excepte y^e said lands before excepted, declaring the freemen of this corporation, togeather with all such as shal be legally admitted into y^e same, his associats. And y^e said William Bradford, for him, his heiers, & assignes, doe hereby further promise and grant to doe & performe whatsoever further thing or things, acte or actes, which in him lyeth, which shall be needfull and expediente for y^e better confirming and establishing the said premises, as by counsell lerned in y^e lawes shall be reasonably advised and devised, when he shall be ther unto required. In witness wherof, the said William Bradford hath in publick courte surrendered the said letters patents actually into y^e hands & power of y^e said courte, binding him selfe, his heires, executors, administrators, and assignes to deliver up whatsoever spetialties are in his hands that doe or may concerne the same.

[235] In these 2. years they had sundry letters out of England to send one over to end the buissines and accounte with M^r. Sherley; who now professed he could not make up his accounts without y^e help of some from hence, espetially M^r. Winslows. They had serious thoughts of it, and y^e most parte of y^e partners hear thought it best to send; but they had formerly written such bitter and threatening letters as M^r. Winslow was neither willing to goe, nor y^t any other of y^e partners should; for he was perswaded, if any of them wente, they should be arested, and an action of such a sūme layed upon them as they

should not procure baele, but must lye in prison, and then they would bring them to what they liste; or other wise they might be brought into trouble by y^e archbishops means, as y^e times then stood. But, notwithstanding, they weer much inclined to send, & Captaine Standish was willing to goe, but they resolved, seeing they could not all agree in this thing, and that it was waighty, and y^e consequence might prove dangerous, to take M^r. Winthrops advise in y^e thing, and y^e rather, because M^r. Andrews had by many letters acquaynted him with y^e differences betweene them, and appoynted him for his assigne to receive his parte of y^e debte. (And though they denyed to pay him any as a debte, till y^e controversie was ended, yet they had deposited 110^{li}. in money in his hands for M^r. Andrews, to pay to him in parte as soone as he would come to any agreement wth y^e rest.) But M^r. Winthrop was of M^r. Winslows minde, and dissuaded them from sending; so they broak of their resolution from sending, and returned this answer: that the times were dangerous as things stood with them, for they knew how M^r. Winslow had suffered formerley, and for a small matter was clapte up in y^e Fleete, & it was long before he could gett out, to both his & their great loss and damage; and times were not better, but worse, in y^e respecte. Yet, that their equall & honest minds might appeare to all men, they made them this tender: to refferr y^e case to some gentle-men and marchants in y^e Bay of y^e Massachusetts, such as they should chuse, and were well knowne unto them selves, (as they perceived their wer many of their acquaintance and freinds ther, better knowne to them then y^e partners hear,) and let them be informed in y^e case by both sids, and have all y^e evidence y^e could be produced, in writing, or other wise; and they would be bound to stand to their determination, and make good their award, though it should cost them all they had in y^e world. But this did not please them, but they were

offended at it, without any great reasone for ought I know, (seeing nether side could give in clear accountes, y^e partners here could not, by reason they (to their smarte) were failed by y^e accountante they sent them, and M^r. Sherley pretened he could not allso,) save as they conceived it a disparagmente to yeeld to their inferiours in respectes of y^e place and other concurring circomstances. So this came to nothing; and afterward M^r. Sherley write, y^t if M^r. Winslow would mett him in France, y^e Low-Countries, or Scotland, let y^e place be knowne, and he [236] come to him ther. But in regard of y^e troubles that now begane to arise in our owne nation, and other reasons, this did not come to any effecte. That which made them so desirous to bring things to an end was partly to stope y^e clamours and asperitions raised & cast upon them hereabout; though they conceived them selves to sustaine the greatest wrong, and had most cause of complainte; and partly because they feared y^e fall of catle, in which most parte of their estats lay. And this was not a vaine feare; for they fell indeede before they came to a conclusion, and that so soudدانly, as a cowe that but a month before was worth 20^{li}., and would so have passed in any paymente, fell now to 5^{li}. and would yeeld no more; and a goate that wente at 3^{li}. or 50^s. would now yeeld but 8. or 10^s. at most. All men feared a fall of catle, but it was thought it would be by degrees; and not to be from y^e highest pitch at once to y^e lowest, as it did, which was greatly to y^e damage of many, and y^e undoing of some. An other reason was, they many of them grew aged, (and indeed a rare thing it was that so many partners should all live together so many years as these did,) and saw many changes were like to befall; so as they were loath to leave these intanglements upon their children and posteritie, who might be driven to remove places, as they had done; yea, them selves might doe it yet before they dyed. But this bussines must yet rest; y^e next year gave it

more ripnes, though it rendred them less able to pay, for y^e reasons afforesaid.

*Anno Dom: 1641.**

M^r. SHERLEY being weary of this controversie, and desirous of an end, (as well as them selves,) write to M^r. John Atwode and M^r. William Collier, 2. of y^e inhabitants of this place, and of his speatiall acquaintance, and desired them to be a means to bring this bussines to an end, by advising & counselling the partners hear, by some way to bring it to a composition, by mutuall agree-mente. And he write to them selves allso to y^e end, as by his letter may apear; so much therof as concernse y^e same I shall hear relate.

St. My love remembered, &c. I have writte so much concerning y^e ending of accounts betweexte us, as I profess I know not what more to write, &c. If you desire an end, as you seeme to doe, ther is (as I conceive) but 2. waise; that is, to perfecte all accounts, from y^e first to y^e last, &c. Now if we find this difficulte, and tedious, haveing not been so stricte & carefull as we should and oughte to have done, as for my owne parte I doe confess I have been somewhat to remisse, and doe verily thinke so are you, &c. I fear you can never make a perfecte accounte of all your pety viages, out, & home too & againe, &c. † So then y^e second way must be, by biding, or compounding; [237] and this way, first or last, we must fall upon, &c. If we must warr at law for it, doe not you expecte from me, nether will I from you, but to cleave y^e heare, and then I dare say y^e lawyers will be most gainers, &c. Thus let us set to y worke, one way or other, and end, that I may not allways suffer in my name & estate. And you are not free; nay, y^e gospel suffers by your delaying, and causeth y^e professors of it to

* The Assistants in the government this year were Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, William Collier, Miles Standish, Timothy Hatherly, John Brown, and Edward Freeman. See

Morton's Memorial, under this date. — Ed.

† This was but to pretend advantage, for it could not be done, neither did it need.

be hardly spoken of, that you, being many, & now able, should combine & joyne together to oppress & burden me, &c. Fear not to make a faire & reasonable offer; beleieve me, I will never take any advantage to plead it against you, or to wrong you; or else let Mr. Winslow come over, and let him have such full power & authority as we may ende by compounding; or else, y^e accounts so well and fully made up, as we may end by reconing. Now, blesed be God, y^e times be much changed here, I hope to see many of you returne to you^r native cōtrie againe, and have such freedome & libertie as y^e word of God prescribs. Our bishops were never so near a downfall as now; God hath miraculously confounded them, and turned all their popish & Machavillian plots & projects on their owne heads, &c. Thus you see what is fitt to be done concerning our perticulere greivances. I pray you take it seriously into consideration; let each give way a litle that we may meete, &c. Be you and all yours kindly saluted, &c. So I ever rest,

Your loving friend,

JAMES SHERLEY.

Clapham, May 18. 1641.

Being thus by this leter, and allso by Mr. Atwodes & Mr. Colliers mediation urged to bring things to an end, (and y^e continuall clamors from y^e rest,) and by none more urged then by their own desires, they tooke this course (because many scandals had been raised upon them). They apoynted these 2. men before mentioned to meet on a certaine day, and called some other freinds on both sids, and Mr. Free-man, brother in law to Mr. Beachamp, and having drawne up a collection of all y^e remains of y^e stock, in what soever it was, as housing, boats, bark, and all implements belonging to y^e same, as they were used in y^e time of y^e trad, were they better or worce, with y^e remaines of all cōmodities, as beads, knives, hatchetts, cloth, or any thing els, as well y^e refuse as y^e more vendible, with all debts, as well those y^e were desperate as others more hopefull; and having spent diverce days to bring this to pass, having y^e helpe of all bookes and papers, which either any of them selves had, or Josias Winslow, who

was their accountante; and they found y^e sume in all to arise (as y^e things were valued) to aboute 1400^{li}. And they all of them tooke a voluntary but a sollem oath, in y^e presence one of an other, and of all their frends, y^e persons abovesaid y^t were now presente, that this was all that any of them knew of, or could remember; and Josias Winslow did y^e like for his parte. But y^e truth is they wrongd them selves much in y^e valuation, for they reconed some catle as they were taken of M^r. Allerton, as for instance a cove in y^e hands of one cost 25^{li}. and so she was valued in this accounte; but when she came to be past away in parte of paymente, after y^e agree- mente, she would be accepted but at 4^{li}. 15^s. [238] Also, being tender of their oaths, they brought in all they knew owing to y^e stock; but they had not made y^e like dili- gente search what y^e stocke might owe to any, so as many scattering debts fell upon afterwards more then now they knew of.

Upon this they drew certaine articles of agreemente betweene M^r Atwode, on M^r. Sherleys behalfe, and them selves. The effecte is as folloeth.

*Articles of agreemente made and concluded upon y^e 15. day
of October, 1641. &c.*

Inp: Whereas ther was a partnership for diverce years agreed upon betweene James Sherley, John Beacham, and Richard Andrews, of London, marchants, and William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Aldon, & John Howland, wth Isaack Allerton, in a trade of beaver skines & other furs arising in New-England; the terme of which said partnership being expired, and diverse sumes of money in goods adventured into New-England by y^e said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, and many large returnes made from New-England by y^e said William Bradford, Ed: Winslow, &c.; and differance arising aboute y^e charge of 2. ships, the one called y^e White Angele, of Bristow, and y^e other y^e Frindship, of Barnstable, and a viage intended

in her, &c.; which said ships & their viages, y^e said William Bradford, Ed: W. &c. conceive doe not at all appertaine to their accounts of partnership; and veras y^e accounts of y^e said partnership are found to be confused, and cannot orderley appeare (through y^e defaulte of Josias Winslow, y^e booke keeper); and veras y^e said W. B. &c. have received all their goods for y^e said trade from the foresaid James Sherley, and have made most of their returnes to him, by consente of y^e said John Beachamp & Richard Andrews; and wheras also y^e said James Sherley hath given power & authoritie to Mr. John Atwode, with y^e advice & consente of William Collier, of Duxborow, for and on his behalfe, to put such an absolute end to y^e said partnership, with all and every accounts, reconings, dues, claimes, demands, whatsoever, to y^e said James Sherley, John Beacham, & Richard Andrews, from y^e said W. B. &c. for and concerning y^e said beaver trade, & also y^e charge y^e said 2. ships, and their viages made or pretended, whether just or unjuste, from y^e worlds begining to this presente, as also for y^e paimente of a purchas of 1800^{li}. made by Isaack Allerton, for and on y^e behalfe of y^e said W. B., Ed: W., &c., and of y^e joynt stock, shares, lands, and adventurs, what soever in New-England aforesaid, as appeareth by a deede bearing date y^e 6. Nov^{br}. 1627; and also for and from such sume and sumes of money or goods as are received by William Bradford, Tho: Prence, & Myles Standish, for y^e recovery of dues, by accounts betwexte them, y^e said James Sherly, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, and Isaack Allerton, for y^e ship caled y^e White Angell. Now y^e said John Attwode, with advice & counsell of y^e said William Collier, having had much communication & spent diverse days in agitation of all y^e said differances & accounts with y^e said W. B., E. W., &c.; and y^e said W. B., E. W., &c. have also, with y^e said book-keeper spent much time in collecting & gathering together y^e remainder of y^e stock of partnership for y^e said trade, and what soever hath beene received, or is due by y^e said attorneyship before expresed, and all, and all manner of goods, debts, and dues therunto belonging, as well those debts that are weake and doubtfull [239] and desperate, as those y^t are more secure, which in all doe amounte to y^e sume of 1400^{li}. or ther aboute; and for more full satisfaction of y^e said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, the said W. B. and all y^e rest of y^e abovesaid partners, together with Josias Winslow y^e

booke keeper, have taken a voluntarie oath, y^t within y^e said sume of 1400^{li}. or therabout, is contained whatsoever they knew, to y^e utmost of their remembrance.

In consideration of all which matters & things before expressed, and to y^e end y^t a full, absolute, and finall end may be now made, and all suits in law may be avoyded, and love & peace continued, it is therfore agreed and concluded betweene y^e said John Attwode, with y^e advice & consent of y^e said William Colier, for & on y^e behalfe of y^e said James Sherley, to and with y^e said W. B., &c. in maner and forme following: viz. that y^e said John Attwode shall procure a sufficiente release and discharge, under y^e hands & seals of y^e said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, to be delivered fayer & unconcealed unto y^e said William Bradford, &c., their heires, executors, & administrators, & every of them shall be fully and absolutly aquited & discharged of all actions, suits, reconings, accounts, claimes, and demands whatsoever concerning y^e generall stock of beaver trade, paymente of y^e said 1800^{li}. for y^e purchass, and all demands, reckonings, and accounts, just or unjust, concerning the tow ships Whit-Angell and Frenship aforesaid, togeather with whatsoever hath been received by y^e said William Bradford, of y^e goods or estate of Isaack Allerton, for satisfaction of y^e accounts of y^e said ship called y^e Whit Angele, by vertue of a tre of attourney to him, Thomas Prence, & Myles Standish, directed from y^e said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, for y^t purpose as afforesaid.

It is also agreed & concluded upon betweene the said parties to these presents, that the said W. B., E. W., &c. shall now be bound in 2400^{li}. for paymente of 1200^{li}. in full satisfaction of all demands as afforesaid; to be payed in maner & forme following; that is to say, 400^{li}. within 2. months next after y^e receite of the aforesaid releases and discharges, one hundred and ten pounds wherof is already in y^e hands of John Winthrop senior of Boston, Esquire, by the means of Mr. Richard Andrews afforesaid, and 80^{li}. waight of beaver now deposited into y^e hands of y^e said John Attwode, to be both in part of paimente of y^e said 400^{li}. and y^e other 800^{li}. to be payed by 200^{li}. p^r aⁿume, to such assignes as shall be appointed, inhabiting either in Plimoth or Massachusetts Bay, in such goods & comodities, and at such rates, as the countrie shall afford at y^e time of delivery & paymente; and in y^e mean time y^e said bond of 2400^{li}. to be de-

posited into y^e hands of y^e said John Attwode. And it is agreed upon by & betweene y^e said parties to these presents, that if y^e said John Attwode shall not or cannot procure such said releases & discharges as afforesaid from y^e said James Sherley, John Bachamp, & Richard Andrews, at or before y^e last day of August next insuing y^e date hear of, y^t then y^e said John Attwode shall, at y^e said day precisely, redeliver, or cause to [240] be delivered unto y^e said W. B., E. W., &c. their said bond of 2400^{li}. and y^e said 80^{li}. waight of beaver, or y^e due valew therof, without any fraud or further delay; and for performance of all & singuler y^e covenants and agreements hearin contained and expressed, which on y^e one parte and behalfe of y^e said James Sherley are to be observed & performed, shall become bound in y^e sume of 2400^{li}. to them, y^e said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Allden, and John Howland. And it is lastly agreed upon betweene y^e said parties, that these presents shall be left in trust, to be kepte for boath parties, in y^e hands of Mr. John Reanour, teacher of Plimoth. In witnes wherof, all y^e said parties have hereunto severally sett their hands, y^e day and year first above written.

JOHN ATWODE, WILLIAM BRADFORD, EDWARD WINSLOW, &c.
In y^e presence of EDMOND FREEMAN,
WILLIAM THOMAS,
WILLIAM PADY,
NATHANIELL SOUTHER.

The nexte year this long and tedious bussines came to some issue, as will then appeare, though not to a finall ende with all y^e parties; but thus much for y^e presente.

I had forgotten to inserte in its place how y^e church here had invited and sent for Mr. Charles Chansey,* a reverend, godly, and very larned man, intending upon triall to chose him pastor of y^e church hear, for y^e more comfortable performance of y^e ministrie with Mr. John Reignor, the teacher of y^e same. But ther fell out some difference aboute baptising, he holding it ought only to be by

* Mr. Chansey came to them in y^e year 1638. and staid till y^e later part of this year 1641.

dipping, and putting y^e whole body under water, and that sprinkling was unlawfull. The church yeelded that immersion, or dipping, was lawfull, but in this could countrie not so conveniente. But they could not nor durst not yeeld to him in this, that sprinkling (which all y^e churches of Christ doe for y^e most parte use at this day) was unlawfull, & an humane invention, as y^e same was prest; but they were willing to yeeld to him as far as y^ey could, & to y^e utmost; and were contented to suffer him to practise as he was perswaded; and when he came to minister that ordnance, he might so doe it to any y^t did desire it in y^t way, provided he could peacably suffer M^r. Reinor, and such as desired to have theirs otherwise baptised by him, by sprinkling or powering on of water upon them; so as ther might be no disturbance in y^e church hercaboute. But he said he could not yeeld herunto. Upon which the church procured some other ministers to dispute y^e pointe with him publikly; as M^r. Ralfe Partrich,* of Duxberie, who did it sundrie times, very ablie and sufficently, as allso some other ministers within this govermente. But he was not satisfied; so y^e church sent to many other churches to crave their help and advise in [241] this mater, and, with his will & consente, sent them his arguments writen under his owne hand. They sente theni to y^e church at Boston in y^e Bay of Massachusets, to be communicated with other churches ther. Also they sent the same to y^e churches of Conightecutt and New-Haven, with sundrie others; and received very able & sufficient answers, as they conceived, from them and their larned

* Mr. Partridge was the first minister of Duxbury. He was settled over the church there in 1637. He arrived at Boston, November 17, 1636. Mather has honored him with a brief notice in his *Magnalia*, and has exercised his punning propensities upon his name. "Mr. Partridge was, notwithstanding the paucity and poverty of his congre-

gation, so afraid of being anything that looked like a *bird wandering from his nest*, that he remained with his poor people till he *took wing* to become a *bird of Paradise*, along with the winged *seraphim* of heaven." He died at a good old age, in 1658. See also Winsor's *Duxbury*, pp. 171-178; Winthrop, I. 205. — Ed.

ministers, who all concluded against him. But him selfe was not satisfied therwth. Their answers are too large hear to relate. They conceived y^e church had done what was meete in y^e thing, so M^r. Chansey, having been y^e most parte of 3. years here, removed him selfe to Sityate, wher he now remains a minister to y^e church ther.* Also about these times, now y^t catle & other things begane greatly to fall from their former rates, and persons begane to fall into more straits, and many being allready gone from them, (as is noted before,) both to Duxberie, Marshfeeld, and other places, & those of y^e cheefe sorte, as M^r. Winslow, Captaine Standish, M^r. Allden, and many other, & stille some dropping away daly, and some at this time, and many more unsetled, it did greatly weaken y^e place, and by reason of y^e straitnes and barrennes of y^e place, it sett y^e thoughts of many upon removeall; as will appere more hereafter.

Anno Dom: 1642.†

MARVILOUS it may be to see and consider how some kind of wickednes did grow & breake forth here, in a land wher the same was so much witnesed against, and so narrowly looked unto, & severly punished when it was

* Mr. Chauncy was elected pastor of the church of Scituate in 1641, where he remained till 1651. He still retained the views maintained at Plymouth on the subject of baptism. Winthrop, in 1642, says: "Mr. Chauncy of Scituate persevered in his opinion of dipping in baptism, and practised accordingly; first upon two of his own, which being in very cold weather, one of them swooned away. Another, having a child about three years old, feared it would be frightened (as others had been, and one caught hold of Mr. Chauncy, and had near pulled him into the water). She brought her child to Boston, with letters testimonial from

Mr. Chauncy, and had it baptized there." In 1654, the Overseers of Harvard College offered Mr. Chauncy the Presidency of that institution, which he accepted, and there remained till his death, in 1671-2. See ample notices of him in Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Chap. 23; Quincy's *History of Harvard College*, I. pp. 24, 27; Deane's *Scituate*, pp. 172-179. — Ed.

† The Assistants in the government this year were Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, William Collier, Timothy Hatherly, John Brown, William Thomas, and Edmond Freeman. See Morton's *Memorial*, under this year. — Ed.

knowne; as in no place more, or so much, that I have known or heard of; insomuch as they have been somewhat censured, even by moderate and good men, for their severitie in punishments. And yet all this could not suppress y^e breaking out of sundrie notorious sins, (as this year, besids other, gives us too many sad presidents and instances,) espetially drunkennes and unclainnes; not only incontinenzie betweene persons unmarried, for which many both men & women have been punished sharply enough, but some married persons allso. But that which is worse, even sodomie and bugerie, (things fearfull to name,) have broak forth in this land, oftener then once. I say it may justly be marveled at, and cause us to fear & tremble at the consideration of our corrupte natures, which are so hardly bridled, subdued, & mortified; nay, cannot by any other means but y^e powerfull worke & grace of Gods spirite. But (besids this) one reason may be, that y^e Divell may carrie a greater spite against the churches of Christ and y^e gospell hear, by how much y^e more they indeaour to preserve holynes and puritie amongst them, and strictly punisheth the contrary when it ariseth either in church or comone wealth; that he might cast a [242] blemishe & staine upon them in y^e eyes of [y^e] world, who use to be rash in judgmente. I would rather thinke thus, then that Satane hath more power in these heathen lands, as som have thought, then in more Christian nations, espetially over Gods servants in them.

2. An other reason may be, that it may be in this case as it is with waters when their streames are stopped or daīed up, when they gett passage they flow with more violence, and make more noys and disturbance, then when they are suffered to rune quietly in their owne chanel. So wikednes being here more stopped by strict laws, and y^e same more nerly looked unto, so as it cannot rune in a comone road of liberty as it would, and is inclined,

it searches every wher, and at last breaks out wher it getts vente.

3. A third reason may be, hear (as I am verily perswaded) is not more evils in this kind, nor nothing nere so many by proportion, as in other places; but they are here more discoverd and seen, and made publick by due serch, inquisition, and due punishment; for y^e churches looke narrowly to their members, and y^e magistrats over all, more strictly then in other places. Besids, here the people are but few in comparison of other places, which are full & populous, and lye hid, as it were, in a wood or thickett, and many horrible evils by y^t means are never seen nor knowne; wheras hear, they are, as it were, brought into y^e light, and set in y^e plaine feeld, or rather on a hill, made conspicuous to y^e veiw of all.

But to proceede; ther came a letter from y^e Gov^r in y^e Bay to them here, touching matters of y^e forementioned nature, which because it may be usefull I shall hear relate it, and y^e passages ther aboute.

S^r: Having an opportunitie to signifie y^e desires of our Generall Court in toow things of spetiall importance, I willingly take this occasion to imparte them to you, y^t you may imparte them to y^e rest of your magistrats, and also to your Elders, for counsell; and give us your advise in them. The first is concerning heinous offences in point of uncleannes; the perticuler cases, with y^e circomstances, and y^e questions ther upon, you have hear inclosed. The 2. thing is concerning y^e llanders at Aquidnett; y^t seeing the cheefest of them are gone from us, in offences, either to churches, or comōne welth, or both; others are dependants on them, and y^e best sorte are such as close with them in all their rejections of us. Neither is it only in a faction y^t they are devided from us, but in very deed they rend them selves from all y^e true churches of Christ, and, many of them, from all y^e powers of majestracie. We have had some experience hereof by some of their under-workers, or emissaries, who have latly come amongst us,*

* The persons here alluded to are doubtless Francis Hutchinson and Mr.

and have made publick defiance against magistracie, ministrie, churches, & church covenants, &c. as antichristian; secretly also sowing y^e seeds of Familisme, and Anabaptistrie, to y^e infection of some, and danger of others; so that we are not willing to joyne with them in any league or confederacie at all, but rather that you would consider & advise with us how we may avoyd them, and keep ours from being infected by them. Another thing I should mention to you, for y^e maintenance of y^e trad of beaver; if ther be not a company to order it in every jurisdiction among y^e English, which companies should agree in generall of their way in trade, I suppose that y^e trade will be overthrowne, and y^e Indeans will abuse us. For this cause we have latly put it into order amongst us, hoping of incouragmente from you (as we have had) y^t we may continue y^e same.* Thus not further to trouble you, I rest, with my loving remembrance to your selfe, &c.

Your loving friend,

Boston, 28. (1.) 1642.

Rⁱ: BELLINGHAM.

The note inclosed follows on y^e other side.†

Collins, a son and son-in-law of the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson who was banished from Massachusetts in the early part of the year 1638. They visited Boston during the last year, where they were arrested, fined, and imprisoned; and, proving refractory, they were finally "dismissed." In 1644, at the November session of the General Court, this colony passed a law, by which all wilful and obstinate opposers of the baptizers of infants should be banished. See the judicious note of Mr. Savage on this, in Winthrop, II. 174. An excellent history of what is called the "Antinomian Controversy" in Massachusetts, is given by the Rev. G. E. Ellis, in a Memoir of Mrs. Hutchinson, in Sparks's American Biography. Winthrop and Weld were strongly opposed to this lady, and this should be borne in mind in reading their narratives relating to this subject. The author of a book entitled *A Glass for the People of New England*, "By S. G[room]," who appears to have had some original minutes of the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson, and of Wheelwright's "seditious" sermon, is very severe upon the authorities of the colony for their

treatment of these persons. See Winthrop, II. 38-40; Records of Massachusetts, II. 85. — Ed.

* At the General Court, the June previous, "to prevent the great disorder in the beaver trade," the Massachusetts government farmed the trade in furs with the Indians to a few persons, for three years, who were, "to give into the treasury the twentieth part of all the furs by them so traded." See Records of Mass., I. 322, 323. — Ed.

† A leaf is here wanting in the original manuscript, it having been cut out. Prince has the following memorandum on a blank leaf at the commencement of the volume: "Page 243 missing when the book came into my hands at first." It will be remembered that the original narrative was written on one side only of the leaf. The folio wanting contained the questions inclosed by Governor Bellingham, with, probably, a recital of the occasion on which they arose, of which Winthrop gives a sufficiently minute account. If five or six more of the original folios following had shared the fate of the one now missing, no serious loss would have been sustained. — Ed.

[244] Worthy & beloved S^r:

Your letter (with y^e questions inclosed) I have comunicated with our Assistants, and we have refered y^e answer of them to such Rev^d Elders as are amongst us, some of whose answers thertoo we have here sent you inclosed, under their owne hands; from y^e rest we have not yet received any. Our farr distance hath bene y^e reason of this long delay, as also y^t they could not conferr their counsells together.

For our selves, (you know our breedings & abillities,) we rather desire light from your selves, & others, whom God hath better inabled, then to presume to give our judgments in cases so difficulte and of so high a nature. Yet under correction, and submission to better judgments, we propose this one thing to your prudent considerations. As it seems to us, in y^e case even of willfull murder, that though a man did smite or wound an other, with a full pourpose or desire to, kill him, (w^{ch} is murder in a high degree, before God,) yet if he did not dye, the magistrate was not to take away y^e others life.* So by proportion in other grosse & foule sines, though high attempts & nere approaches to y^e same be made, and such as in the sight & account of God may be as ill as y^e accomplismente of y^e foulest acts of y^t sine, yet we doute whether it may be safe for y^e magistrate to proceed to death; we thinke, upon y^e former grounds, rather he may not. As, for instance, in y^e case of adultrie, (if it be admitted y^t it is to be punished wth death, which to some of us is not cleare,) if y^e body be not actually defiled, then death is not to be inflicted. So in sodomie, & bestialitie, if ther be not penetration. Yet we confess foulnes of circumstances, and frequence in y^e same, doth make us remaine in y^e darke, and desire further light from you, or any, as God shall give.

As for y^e 2. thing, concerning y^e Ilanders? we have no conversing with them, nor desire to have, further then necessitie or humanity may require.

And as for trade? we have as farr as we could ever therin held an orderly course, & have been sory to see y^e spoyle therof by others, and fear it will hardly be recovered. But in these, or any other things which may concerne y^e comōne good, we shall be willing to advise & concure with you in what we may.

* Exod: 21. 22. Deu: 19. 11. Num: 35. 16. 18.

Thus wth my love remembered to your selfe, and y^e rest of our worthy friends, your Assistants, I take leave, & rest,

Your loving friend,

W. B.

Plim: 17. 3. month, 1642.

Now follows y^e ministers answers. And first M^r. Reynors.

Qest: What sodmiticall acts are to be punished with death, & what very facte (ipso facto) is worthy of death, or, if y^e fact it selfe be not capitall, what circomstances concurring may make it capitall?

Ans: In y^e judicall law (y^e moralitie wherof concerneth us) it is manyfest y^t carnall knowledg of man, or lying wth man, as with woman, cum penetratione corporis, was sodomic, to be punished with death; what els can be understood by Levit: 18. 22. & 20. 13. & Gen: 19. 5? 2^{ly}. It seems allso y^t this foule sine might be capitall, though ther was not penetratio corporis, but only contactus & fricatio usq^{ue} ad effusionem seminis, for these reasons: [245] 1. Because it was sin to be punished with death, Levit. 20. 13. in y^e man who was lyen withall, as well as in him y^t lyeth with him; now his sin is not mitigated wher ther is not penetration, nor augmented wher it is; wheras its charged upon y^e women, y^t they were guilty of this unnaturall sine, as well as men, Rom. 1. 26. 27. Y^e same thing doth further apeare, 2. because of y^t proportion betwexte this sin & beastialitie, wherein if a woman did stand before, or aproach to, a beast, for y^t end, to lye downe therto, (whether penetration was or not,) it was capitall, Levit: 18. 23. & 20. 16. 3^{ly}. Because something els might be equivalent to penetration wher it had not been, viz. y^e fore mentioned acts with frequencie and long continuance with a high hand, utterly extinguishing all light of nature; besides, full intention and bould attempting of y^e foulest acts may seeme to have been capitall here, as well as coming presumptuously to slay with guile was capitall. Exod: 21. 14.

Yet it is not so manyfest y^t y^e same acts were to be punished with death in some other sines of uncleannes, w^{ch} yet by y^e law of God were capitall crimes; besides other reasons, (1.) because sodomie, & also beastialitie, is more against y^e light of nature then some other capitall crimes of unclainnes, which reason is

to be attended unto, as y^t which most of all made this sin capitall; (2.) because it might be comitted with more secrecie & less suspition, & therefore needed y^e more to be restrained & suppressed by y^e law; (3^y) because ther was not y^e like reason & degree of sinning against family & posteritie in this sin as in some other capitall sines of uncleannes.

2. Quest: How farr a magistrate may extracte a confession from a delinquente, to acuse him selfe of a capitall crime, seeing *Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*.

Ans: A majestrate cannot without sin neglecte diligente inquisition into y^e cause brought before him. Job 29. 16. Pro: 24. 11. 12. & 25. 2. (2^y.) If it be manifest y^t a capitall crime is committed, & y^t comone reporte, or probabilitie, suspition, or some complainte, (or y^e like,) be of this or y^t person, a magistrate ought to require, and by all due means to procure from y^e person (so farr allready bewrayed) a naked confession of y^e fact, as apears by y^t which is morall & of perpetuall equitie, both in y^e case of uncertaine murder, Deut: 21. 1. 9. and slander, Deut: 22. 13. 21; for though *nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*, yet by that w^{ch} may be known to y^e magistrat by y^e forenamed means, he is bound thus to doe, or els he may betray his countrie & people to y^e heavie displeasure of God, Levit: 18. 24. 25. Jos: 22. 18. Psa: 106. 30; such as are iñocente to y^e sinfull, base, cruell lusts of y^e profane, & such as are delinquents, and others with them, into y^e hands of y^e stronger temptations, & more bouldness, & hardnes of harte, to comite more & worse villany, besides all y^e guilt & hurt he will bring upon him selfe. (3^y.) To inflict some punishmente meerly for this reason, to extracte a confession of a capitall crime, is contrary to y^e nature of vindictive justice, which always hath respecte to a knowñ crime comitted by y^e person punished; and it will therfore, for any thing which can before be knowne, be y^e provocking and forcing of wrath, compared to y^e wringing of y^e nose, Pro: 30. 33. which is as well forbidden y^e fathers of y^e countrie as of y^e family, Ephe. 6. 4. as produsing many sad & dangerous effects. That an oath (*ex officio*) for such a purpose is no due means, hath been abundantly proved by y^e godly learned, & is well known.

Q. 3. In what cases of capitall crimes one witnes with other circumstances shall be sufficiente to convince? or is ther no conviction without 2. witnesses?

Ans: In taking away y^e life of man, one witnes alone will not suffice, ther must be tow, or y^t which is instar; y^e texts are manifest, Numb: 35. 30. Deut: 17. 6. & 19. 15. 2^{ly}. Ther may be conviction by one witnes, & some thing y^t hath y^e force of another, as y^e evidencie of y^e fact done by such an one, & not an other; unforced confession when ther was no fear or danger of suffering for y^e fact, hand writings acknowledged & confessed.

JOHN REYNOR.

Mr. Partrich his writing, in ans: to y^e questions.

[246] What is y^t sodomiticall acte which is to be punished with death?

Though I conceive probable y^t a voluntary effusion of seed per modum concubitus of man with man, as of a man with woman, though in concubitu ther be not penetratio corporis, is y^t sin which is forbidē, Levit: 18. 22. & adjudged to be punished with death, Levit: 20. 13. because, though ther be not penetratio corporis, yet ther may be similitudo concubitus muliebris, which is y^t the law specifich; yet I dar not be con-* (1.) because, Gen: 19. 5. y^e intended acte of y^e Sodomits (who were y^e first noted maisters of this unnaturall act of more then brutish filthines) is expressed by carnall copulation of man with woman: Bring them out unto us, y^t we may know them; (2^{ly}.) because it is observed among y^e nations wher this unnaturall unclainnes is comited, it is wth penetration of y^e body; (3^{ly}.) because, in y^e judiciall proceedings of y^e judges in England, y^e indiet: so rune (as I have been informed).

Q. How farr may a magistrat extracte a confession of a capitall crime from a suspected and an accused person?

Ans: I conceive y^t a magistrate is bound, by carfull examination of circumstances & waighing of probabilities, to sifte y^e accused, and by force of argumente to draw him to an acknowledgment of y^e truth; but he may not extracte a confession of a capitall crime from a suspected person by any violent means, whether it be by an oath imposed, or by any punishmente inflicted or threatened to be inflicted, for so he may draw forth an acknowledgmente of a crime from a fearfull iñocente; if guilty, he shall be compelled to be his owne accuser, when no other can, which is against y^e rule of justice.

Q. In what cases of capitall crimes one witnes with other circumstances shall be sufficente to convicte; or is ther no conviction without two witnesses?

Ans: I conceive y^t, in y^e case of capitall crimes, ther can be no safe proceedings unto judgmente without too witnesses, as Numb: 35. 30. Deut: 19. 15. excepte ther can some evidence be prodused as available & firme to prove y^e facte as a witnes is, then one witnes may suffice; for therin y^e end and equitie of y^e law is attained. But to proceede unto sentence of death upon presumptions, wher probably ther may subesse falsum, though ther be y^e testimony of one wittnes, I supose it cannot be a safe way; better for such a one to be held in safe custodie for further triall.

RALPH PARTRICH.

The Answer of Mr. Charles Chancy.

An contactus et fricatio usq; ad seminis effusiōem sine penetratione corporis sit sodomia morte plectenda?

Q. The question is what sodomiticall acts are to be punished wth death, & what very facte comitted, (ipso facto,) is worthy of death, or if y^e facte it selfe be not capitall, what circumstances concurring may make it capitall. The same question may be asked of rape, inceste, bestialitie, unnaturall sins, presumtuious sins. These be y^e words of y^e first question.

Ans: The answer unto this I will lay downe (as God shall directe by his word & spirite) in these following conclusions: (1.) That y^e judicials of Moyses, that are appendances to y^e morall law, & grounded on y^e law of nature, or y^e decalogue, are imutable, and ppetuall, w^{ch} all orthodox devines acknowledge; see y^e authors following. Luther, Tom. 1. Whitenberge: fol. 435. & fol. 7. Melanethon, in loc: cum loco de conjugio. Calvin, l. 4. Institut. c. 4. sect. 15. Junious de politia Moysis, thes. 29. & 30. Hen: Bulin: Decad. 3. sermo. 8. Wolf: Muscu. loc: com: in 6. precepti explicaci: Bucer de regno Christi, l. 2. c. 17. Theo: Beza, vol: 1. de hereti: puniendis, fol. 154. Zanch: in 3. præcept: Ursin: Pt. 4. explicat. contra John. Piscat: in Aphorismi Loc. de lege dei aphorism. 17. And more might be added. I forbear, for brevities sake, to set downe their very words; this being y^e constante & generall oppinion of y^e best devines, I will rest in this as undoubtedly true, though much more might be said to confirme it.

2. That all y^e sīnes mentioned in y^e question were punished with death by y^e judiciall law of Moyses, as adultry, Levit: 20. 10. Deut: 22. 22. Ezech: 16. 38. Jhon. 8. 5. which is to be understood not only of double adultrie, when as both parties are married, (as some conceive,) but whosoever (besids her husband) lyes with a married woman, whether y^e man be married or not, as in y^e place, Deut: 22. 22. or whosoever, being a married man, lyeth with another woman (besids his wife), as P. Martire saith, loc: com: which in dīverce respects maks y^e sine worse on y^e married mans parte; for y^e Lord in this law hath respect as well to publick honesty, (the sin being so prejudicall to y^e church & state,) as y^e private wrongs (saith Junious). So incest is to be punished with death, Levit: 20. 11. 22. Beastiality likewise, Lev: 20. 15. Exod: 22. 19. Raps in like maner, Deut: 22. 25. Sodomie in like sort, Levit: 18. 22. & 20. 13. And all presumptuous sins, Numb: 15. 30. 31.

3. That y^e punishmente of these foule sines wth death is grounded on y^e law of nature, & is agreeable to the morall law. (1.) Because the reasons añexed shew them to be perpetuall. Deut. 22. 22. So shalt thou put away evill. Incest, beastiality, are caled confusion, & wickednes. (2.) Infamie to y^e whole humane nature, Levit: 22. 12. Levit: 18. 23. Raps are as murder, Deut: 22. 25. Sodomie is an abomination, Levit: 22. 22. [247] No holier & juster laws can be devised by any man or angele then have been by y^e Judg of all y^e world, the wisdom of y^e Father, by whom kings doe raigne, &c. (3.) Because, before y^e giving of y^e Law, this punishmente was anciently practised, Gen: 26. 11. 38. 29. 39. 20. & even by the heathen, by y^e very light of nature, as P. Martire shews. (4th.) Because y^e land is defiled by such sins, and spews out y^e inhabitants, Levit: 18. 24, 25. & that in regard of those nations y^t were not acquainted wth the law of Moyses. 4. All y^e devins above specified consent in this, that y^e unclean acts punishable with death by y^e law of God are not only y^e grosse acts of uncleannes by way of carnall copulation, but all y^e evidente attempts therof, which may appeare by those severall words y^t are used by y^e spirite of God, expressing y^e sins to be punished with death; as y^e discovering of nakednes, Levit: 18. 20. which is retegere pudenda, as parts p^r euphemismum (saith Junius), or detegere ad cubandum (saith Willett), to uncover y^e shamefull parts of y^e

body (saith Ainsworth), which, though it reaches to y^e grose acts, yet it is plaine it doth comprehend y^e other foregoing immodest attempts, as contactum, fricationem, &c.; likewise y^e phrase of lying with, so often used, doth not only signifie carnall copulation, but other obscene acts, p^rceding y^e same, is implied in Pauls word ἀρσενοκοῖται, 1. Cor: 6. 9. & men lying with men, 1. Tim: 1. 9. men defiling them selves wth mankind, men burning with lust towards men, Rom: 1. 26. & Levit: 18. 22. sodom & sin going after strange flesh, Jud: v. 7. 8. and lying with mankind as with a woman, Levit: 18. 22. Abulensis says y^t it signifies omnes modos quibus masculus masculo abutatur, changing y^e naturall use into y^t which is against nature, Rom: 1. 26. arrogare sibi cubare, as Junius well translat Levit: 20. 15. to give consente to lye withall, so approaching to a beast, & lying downe therto, Levit: 20. 16. ob solum conatū (saith Willett), or for going about to doe it. Add to this a notable speech of Zepperus de legibus (who hath enough to end controversies of this nature). L. 1. he saith: In crimine adulterii voluntas (understanding manifeste) sine effectu subsecuto de jure attenditur; and he proves it out of good laws, in these words: Solicitatores alienum nuptiam itemq; matrimonium interpellatores, etsi effectu sceleris potiri non possunt, propter voluntatem tamen perniciosæ libidinis extra ordinem puniuntur; nam generale est quidem affectū sine effectu [non] puniri, sed contrarium observatur in atrocioribus & horum similibus.

5. In concluding punishments from y^e judicall law of Moyses y^t is perpetuall, we must often p^rceed by analogicall proportion & interpretation, as a paribus similibus, minore ad majus, &c.; for ther will still fall out some cases, in every comōne-wealth, which are not in so many words extante in holy write, yet y^e substance of y^e matter in every kind (I conceive under correction) may be drawne and concluded out of y^e scripture by good consequence of an equevalent nature; as, for example, ther is no express law against destroying conception in y^e wombe by potions, yet by analogie with Exod: 21. 22, 23. we may reason y^t life is to be given for life. Againe, y^e question, An contactus & fricatio, &c., and methinks y^t place Gen: 38. 9. in y^e punishmente of Onans sin, may give some cleare light to it; it was (saith Pareus) beluina crudelitas quam Deus pari loco cum paricidio habuit, nam semen corrumpere, quid fuit aliud quam

hominem ex semine generandum occidere? Propterea juste a Deo occisus est. Observe his words. And againe, Discamus quantopere Deus abominetur omnem seminis genitalis abusum, illicitā effusionem, & corruptionē, &c., very pertinente to this case. That also is considerable, Deut: 25. 11, 12. God comanded y^t, if any wife drue nigh to deliver her husband out of y^e hand of him y^t smiteth him, &c., her hand should be cutt off. Yet such a woman in y^t case might say much for her selfe, y^t what she did was in trouble & perplexitie of her minde, & in her husbands defence; yet her hand must be cutt off for such impuritie (and this is morall, as I conceive). Then we may reason from y^e less to y^e greater, what greivous sin in y^e sight of God it is, by y^e instigation of burning lusts, set on fire of hell, to proceede to contactum & fricationem ad emissionem seminis, &c., & y^t contra naturam, or to attempte y^e grosse acts of unnaturall filthines. Againe, if y^t unnaturall lusts of women with men, or woman with woman, or either with beasts, be to be punished with death, then a pari naturall lusts of men towards children under age are so to be punished.

6. Circumstantiæ variant vis e actiones,* (saith y^e lawiers,) & circumstances in these cases cannot possibly be all reckēd up; but God hath given laws for those causes & cases that are of greatest momente, by which others are to be judged of, as in y^e differance betwixte chanc medley, & willfull murder; so in y^e sins of uncleannes, it is one thing to doe an acte of uncleannes by sudden temptation, & another to lye in waite for it, yea, to make a comūne practise of it; this mightily augments & multiplies y^e sin. Againe, some siñes of this nature are simple, others compound, as y^t is simple adultrie, or inceste, or simple sodomie; but when ther is a mixture of diuerce kinds of lust, as when adultery & sodomie & p^rditio seminis goe togeather in y^e same acte of uncleannes, this is capitall, double, & trible. Againe, when adultrie or sodomie is comited by p^rfessors or church members, I fear it coms too near y^e sine of preists daughters, forbidden, & comanded to be punished, Levit: 21. 9. besides y^e presumption of y^e siñes of such. Againe, when uncleannes is comited with those whose chastity they are bound to p^rserve, this coms very nere the incestious copulation, I feare; but I must hasten to y^e other questions.

[248] 2. Question y^e second, upon y^e pointe of examination,

* Perhaps "vim actionis" or "vitiū actionis." — ED.

how farr a magistrate may extracte a confession from a delin-
quente to accuse him selfe in a capitall crime, seeing *Nemo*
tenetur prodere seipsum.

Ans: The words of the question may be understood of ex-
tracting a confession from a delinquent either by oath or bodily
tormente. If it be mente of extracting by requiring an oath,
(*ex officio*, as some call it,) & that in capitall crimes, I fear it is
not safe, nor warented by Gods word, to extracte a confession
from a delinquent by an oath in matters of life and death.
(1.) Because y^e practise in y^e Scripturs is other wise, as in y^e
case of Achan, Jos: 7. 19. Give, I pray y^e, glorie to y^e Lord God
of Israll, and make a confession to him, & tell me how thou
hast done. He did not compell him to sweare. So when as
Johnathans life was indangered, 1. Sam. 14. 43. Saule said unto
Johnathan, Tell me what thou hast done; he did not require an
oath. And notable is y^t, Jer: 38. 14. Jeremiah was charged by
Zedechias, who said, I will aske the a thing, hide it not from
me; & Jeremiah said, If I declare it unto y^e, wilt thou not
surely put me to death? impling y^t, in case of death, he would
have refused to answer him. (2.) Reason shews it, & expe-
rience; Job: 2. 4. Skin for skin, &c. It is to be feared y^t those
words (whatsoever a man hath) will comprehend also y^e con-
science of an oath, and y^e fear of God, and all care of religion;
therefore for laying a snare before y^e guiltie, I think it ought not
to be donn. But now, if y^e question be mente of inflicting
bodily torments to extracte a confession from a mallefactor,
I conceive y^t in maters of highest consequence, such as doe con-
ceirne y^e saftie or ruine of stats or countries, magistrats may
proceede so farr to bodily torments, as racks, hote-irons, &c., to
extracte a confession, espetially wher presumptions are strounge;
but otherwise by no means. God sometims hids a sinner till
his wickednes is filled up.

Question 3. In what cases of capitall crimes, one witnes with
other circumstances shall be sufficente to convicte, or is ther no
conviction without 2. witnesses?

Deut: 19. 25. God hath given an express rule y^t in no case
one witness shall arise in judgmente, espetially not in capitall
cases. God would not put our lives into y^e power of any one
tounge. Besids, by y^e examination of more wittneses agreeing
or disagreeing, any falshood ordenarilly may be discovered; but
this is to be understood of one witnes of another; but if a man

witnes against him selfe, his owne testimony is sufficiente, as in y^e case of y^e Amalakite, 2. Sam: 1. 16. Againe, when ther are sure & certaine signes & evidences by circumstances, ther needs no witnes in this case, as in y^e bussines of Adoniah desiring Abishage y^e Shunamite to wife, that therby he might make way for him selfe unto y^e kingdome, 1. King: 2. 23, 24. Againe, probably by many concurring circumstances, if probabilitie may have y^e strength of a witnes, something may be this way gathered, me thinks, from Sallomons judging betweexte y^e true mother, and y^e harlote, 1. King. 3. 25. Lastly, I see no cause why in waighty matters, in defecte of witnesses & other proofes, we may not have recourse to a lott, as in y^e case of Achan, Josu: 7. 16. which is a clearer way in such doubtfull cases (it being solemnely & religiously performed) then any other that I know, if it be made y^e last refuge. But all this under correction.

The Lord in mercie directe & prosper y^e desires of his servants that desire to walk before him in truth & righteousness in the administration of justice, and give them wisdom and largnes of harte.

CHARLES CHANNY.

Besids y^e occasion before mentioned in these writings concerning the abuse of those 2. children, they had aboute y^e same time a case of buggerie fell out amongst them, which occasioned these questions, to which these answers have been made.

And after y^e time of y^e writig of these things befell a very sadd accidente of the like foule nature in this govermente, this very year, which I shall now relate. Ther was a youth whose name was Thomas Granger; he was servant to an honest man* of Duxbery, being aboute 16. or 17. years of age. (His father & mother lived at the same time at Sityate.) He was this year detected of buggerie (and indicted for y^e same) with a mare, a cowe, tow goats, five sheep, 2. calves, and a turkey. Horrible [249] it is to mention, but y^e truth of y^e historie requires it. He was first discovered by one y^t accidentally saw his

* Love Brewster. Plymouth Colony Records. — Ed.

lewd practise towards the mare. (I forbear perticulers.) Being upon it examined and comitted, in y^e end he not only confest y^e fact with that beast at that time, but sundrie times before, and at severall times with all y^e rest of y^e forenamed in his indictmente; and this his free-confession was not only in private to y^e magistrats, (though at first he strived to deney it,) but to sundrie, both ministers & others, and afterwards, upon his indictmente, to y^e whole court & jury; and confirmed it at his execution. And wheras some of y^e sheep could not so well be knowne by his description of them, others with them were brought before him, and he declared which were they, and which were not. And accordingly he was cast by y^e jury, and condemned, and after executed about y^e 8. of Sept^r, 1642. A very sade spectakle it was; for first the mare, and then y^e cowe, and y^e rest of y^e lesser catle, were kild before his face, according to y^e law, Levit: 20. 15. and then he him selfe was executed. The catle were all cast into a great & large pitte that was digged of purpuss for them, and no use made of any part of them.

Upon y^e examenation of this person, and also of a former that had made some sodomiticall attempts upon another, it being demanded of them how they came first to y^e knowledge and practice of such wickednes, the one confessed he had long used it in old England; and this youth last spoaken of said he was taught it by an other that had heard of such things from some in England when he was ther, and they kept catle together. By which it appears how one wicked person may infecte many; and what care all ought to have what servants they bring into their families.

But it may be demanded how it came to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land, & mixe them selves amongst them? seeing it was religious men y^t begane y^e work, and they came for religions sake. I confess this may be mar-

veilled at, at least in time to come, when the reasons thereof should not be knowne; and y^e more because here was so many hardships and wants mett withall. I shall therefore indeavor to give some answer hereunto. And first, according to y^t in y^e gospell, it is ever to be remembred that wher y^e Lord begins to sow good seed, ther y^e envious man will endeavore to sow tares. 2. Men being to come over into a wildernes, in which much labour & service was to be done aboute building & planting, &c., such as wanted help in y^t respectes, when they could not have such as y^{ey} would, were glad to take such as they could; and so, many untoward servants, sundry of them proved, that were thus brought over, both men & women kind; who, when their times were expired, became families of them selves, which gave increase hereunto. 3. An other and a maine reason hearof was, that men, finding so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some begane to make a trade of it, to transeport passengers & their goods, and hired ships for that end; and then, to make up their freight and advance their profite, cared not who y^e persons were, so they had money to pay them. And by this means the cuntrie became pestered with many unworthy persons, who, being come over, crept into one place or other. 4. Againe, the Lords blessing usually following his people, as well in outward as spirituall things, (though afflictions be mixed withall,) doe make many to adhear to y^e people of God, as many followed Christ, for y^e loaves sake, Iohn 6. 26. and a mixed multitud came into y^e willdernes with y^e people of God out of Eagipte of old, Exod. 12. 38; so allso ther were sente by their freinds some under hope y^t they would be made better; others that they might be eased of such burthens, and they kept from shame at home y^t would necessarily follow their dissolute courses. And thus, by one means or other, in 20. years time, it is a question whether y^e greater part be not growne y^e worser.

[250] I am now come to y^e conclusion of that long & tedious bussines betweene y^e partners hear, & them in England, the which I shall manifest by their owne letters as followeth, in such parts of them as are pertinente to y^e same.

Mr. Sherleys to Mr. Attwood.

Mr. Attwood, my approved loving freind: Your letter of y^e 18. of October last I have received, wherein I find you have taken a great deall of paines and care aboute y^t troublesome bussines betwixte our Plimoth partners & freinds, & us hear, and have deeply ingaged your selfe, for which complements & words are no reall satisfaction, &c. For y^e agreemente you have made with Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, & y^e rest of y^e partners ther, considering how honestly and justly I am perswaded they have brought in an accounte of y^e remaining stock, for my owne parte I am well satisfied, and so I thinke is Mr. Andrewes, and I supose will be Mr. Beachampe, if most of it might acrow to him, to whom y^e least is due, &c. And now for peace sake, and to conclud as we began, lovingly and freindly, and to pass by all failings of all, the conclude is accepted of; I say this agreemente y^t you have made is condessed unto, and Mr. Andrews hath sent his release to Mr. Winthrop, with such directions as he conceives fitt; and I have made bould to trouble you with mine, and we have both sealed in y^e presence of Mr. Weld, and Mr. Peeters, and some others, and I have also sente you an other, for the partners ther, to seale to me; for you must not deliver mine to them, excepte they seale & deliver one to me; this is fitt and equall, &c.

Yours to comānd in what I may or can,

JAMES SHERLEY.

June 14. 1642.

His to y^e partners as followeth.

Loving freinds,

Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Prence, Captaine Standish, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Alden, & Mr. Howland, give me leave to joyne you all in one letter, concerning y^e finall end & conclude of y^t tedious & troublsome bussines, & I thinke I may truly say

uncomfortable & unprofitable to all, &c. It hath pleased God now to put us upon a way to sease all suits, and disquieting of our spirites, and to conclude with peace and love, as we began. I am contented to yeeld & make good what Mr. Attwood and you have agreed upon; and for y^t end have sente to my loving freind, Mr. Attwood, an absolute and generall release unto you all, and if ther wante any thing to make it more full, write it your selves, & it shall be done, provided y^t all you, either joyntly or severally, seale y^e like discharge to me. And for y^t end I have drawne one joyntly, and sent it to Mr. Attwood, with y^t I have sealed to you. Mr. Andrews hath sealed an aquittance also, & sent it to Mr. Winthrop, whith such directions as he conceived fitt, and, as I hear, hath given his debte, which he maks 544^{li}. unto y^e gentlemen of y^e Bay. Indeed, Mr. Welld, Mr. Peters, & Mr. Hibbens have taken a great deale of paines with Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beachamp, & my selfe, to bring us to agree, and to y^t end we have had many meetings and spent much time aboute it. But as they are very religious & honest gentle-men, yet they had an end y^t they drove at & laboured to accomplish (I meane not any private end, but for y^e generall good of their patente). It had been very well you had sent one over. Mr. Andrew wished you might have one 3. parte of y^e 1200^{li}. & y^e Bay 2. thirds; but then we 3. must have agreed together, which were a hard mater now. But Mr. Weld, Mr. Peters, & Mr. Hibbens, & I, have agreed, they giving you bond (so to compose with Mr. Beachamp, as) to procure his generall release, & free you from all trouble & charge y^t he may put you too; which indeed is nothing, for I am perswaded Mr. Weld will in time gaine him to give them all that is dew to [251] him, which in some sorte is granted allready; for though his demands be great, yet Mr. Andrewes hath taken some paines in it, and makes it appear to be less then I thinke he will consente to give them for so good an use; so you neede not fear, that for taking bond ther to save you harmles, you be safe and well. Now our accord is, y^t you must pay to y^e gentle-men of y^e Bay 900^{li}.; they are to bear all chargs y^t may any way arise concerning y^e free & absolute clearing of you from us three. And you to have y^e other 300^{li}. &c.

Upon y^e receiving of my release from you, I will send you your bonds for y^e purchass money. I would have sent them now,

but I would have Mr. Beachamp release as well as I, because you are bound to him in them. Now I know if a man be bound to 12. men, if one release, it is as if all released, and my discharge doth cutt them of; wherfore doubt you not but you shall have them, & your comission, or any thing els that is fitt. Now you know ther is tow years of y^e purchass money, that I would not owne, for I have formerley certified you y^t I would but pay 7. years; but now you are discharged of all, &c.

Your loving and kind friend in what I may or can,

JAMES SHERLEY.

June 14. 1642.

The copy of his release is as followeth.

Wheras diverce questions, differences, & demands have arisen & depended betweene William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Mylest Standish, William Brewster, John Allden, and John Howland, gent: now or latly inhabitants or resident at New-Plimoth, in New-England, on y^e one party, and James Sherley of London, marchante, and others, in th' other parte, for & concerning a stocke & partable trade of beaver & other comodities, and fraighting of ships, as y^e White Angell, Frindship, or others, and y^e goods of Isaack Allerton which were seized upon by vertue of a leter of attorney made by y^e said James Sherley and John Beachamp and Richard Andrews, or any other maters concerning y^e said trade, either hear in Old-England or ther in New-England or elsewhere, all which differences are since by mediation of freinds composed, compromised, and all y^e said parties agreed. Now know all men by these presents, that I, the said James Sherley, in performance of y^e said compromise & agreemente, have remised, released, and quite claimed, & doe by these presents remise, release, and for me, myne heires, executors, & Administrators, and for every of us, for ever quite claime unto y^e said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Allden, & John Howland, and every of them, their & every of their heires, executors, and administrators, all and all maner of actions, suits, debts, accounts, reckonings, comissions, bonds, bills, specialties, judgments, executions, claimes, challinges, differences, and demands whatsoever, with

or against y^e said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prencce, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Allden, and John Howland, or any of them, ever I had, now have, or in time to come can, shall, or may have, for any mater, cause, or thing whatsoever from y^e begining of y^e world untill y^e day of y^e date of these presents. In witnes wherof I have hereunto put my hand & seale, given y^e second day of June, 1642, and in y^e eighteenth year of y^e raigne of our soveraigne lord, king Charles, &c.

JAMES SHERLEY.

Sealed and delivered

in y^e presence of THOMAS WELD,*
HUGH PETERS,
WILLIAM HIBBINS.
ARTHUR TIRREY, SCR.
THO: STURGS, his servante.

Mr. Andrews his discharg was to y^e same effecte; he was by agreemēte to have 500^{li}. of y^e money, the which he gave to them in y^e Bay,† who brought his discharge and demanded y^e money. And they tooke in his release and paid y^e money according to agreemēte, viz. one third of the 500^{li}. they paid downe in hand, and y^e rest in 4. equall payments, to be paid yearly, for which they gave

* Messrs. Weld, Peters, and Hibbins were sent to England in the early part of the last year, in the service of the Massachusetts colony. The latter returned in September of this year. The others never returned. See Winthrop, II. 24-26, 75, 76. — Ed.

† By means of Messrs. Weld, Peters, and Hibbins, says Winthrop, under date of August of this year, "Mr. Richard Andrews, an haberdasher in Cheapside, London, a godly man, and who had been a former benefactor to this country, having 500 pounds due to him from the Governor and company of Plymouth, gave it to this colony, to be laid out in cattle, and other course of trade, for the poor." At the General Court of Massachusetts in November of this year, "Mr. Bellingham, Captain Cooke, and Lieutenant Duncan were appointed to go to New Plymouth, to settle the business about Mr. Andrews

his 500^{li}., to take bond, seal their discharge, and take their discharge for Mr. Andrews"; respecting which see further in Mass. Colony Records, Vol. II. p. 39, under date of May, 1643. In 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 21, is a letter from Mr. Andrews, dated from Rotterdam, January, 1645, written to Governor Winthrop, in reply to one from him of two years before; in which he makes complaint of his inability to effect a settlement with the partners here. It is possible that this letter was penned under a misapprehension based upon some intimations in the letter of Winthrop, which may have been written before the above settlement was effected. This Richard Andrews, so long connected with the colony of Plymouth, first as one of the adventurers and then as an associate with the undertakers, was an alderman of London. See Savage's Winthrop, II. 75. — Ed.

their bonds. And wheras 44th. was more demanded, they conceived they could take it of with M^r. Andrews, and therefore it was not in the bonde. [252] But M^r. Beachamp would not parte with any of his, but demanded 400th. of y^e partners here, & sent a release to a friend, to deliver it to them upon y^e receite of y^e money. But his relese was not perfecte, for he had left out some of y^e partners names, with some other defects; and besids, the other gave them to understand he had not near so much due. So no end was made with him till 4. years after; of which in it plase.* And in y^t regard, that them selves did not agree, I shall inserte some part of M^r. Andrews letter, by which he conceives y^e partners here were wronged, as followeth. This leter of his was write to M^r. Edmond Freeman,† brother in law to M^r. Beachamp.

M^r. Freeman,

My love remembred unto you, &c. I then certified y^e partners how I found M^r. Beachamp & M^r. Sherley, in their perticuler demands, which was according to mens principles, of getting what they could; allthough y^e one will not shew any accounte, and y^e other a very unfaire and unjust one; and both of them discouraged me from sending y^e partners my accounte, M^r. Beachamp espetially. Their reason, I have cause to conceive, was, y^t allthough I doe not, nor ever intended to, wrong y^e partners or y^e bussines, yet, if I gave no accounte, I might be esteemed as guiltie as they, in some degree at least; and they might seeme to be y^e more free from taxation in not delivering their accounts, who have both of them charged y^e accounte with much intrest they have payed forth, and one of them would likewise for much intrest he hath not paid forth, as appeareth

* Governor Bradford makes no further mention of the settlement with M^r. Beauchamp, under the year indicated. It appears from the Old Colony Records, that in 1645 the undertakers pledged their estates for security of a debt to him; and in 1652, certain houses and lands of theirs were sold for the payment of the same. See Russell's Guide to Plymouth, Appendix D.—Ed.

† Edmund Freeman came over in the Abigail, in October, 1635, and soon after settled in Sandwich. Two sons and two daughters came with him. The sons, Edmund and John, married daughters of Governor Prence. See Savage's Gleanings, in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 266-268; Winthrop, I. 169, 170; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, p. 424; Winsor's Duxbury, p. 260.—Ed.

by his accounte, &c. And seeing y^e partners have now made it appear y^t ther is 1200^{li}. remaining due between us all, and that it may appear by my accounte I have not charged y^e bussines with any intrest, but doe forgive it unto y^e partners, above 200^{li}. if Mr. Sherley & Mr. Beachamp, who have betweene them wronged y^e bussines so many 100^{li}. both in principall & intrest likewise, and have therein wronged me as well and as much as any of y^e partners; yet if they will not make & deliver faire & true accounts of y^e same, nor be contente to take what by computation is more then can be justly due to either, that is, to Mr. Beachamp 150^{li}. as by Mr. Allertons accounte, and Mr. Sherleys accounte, on oath in chancerie; and though ther might be nothing due to Mr. Sherley, yet he requirs 100^{li}. &c. I conceive, seing y^e partners have delivered on their oaths y^e sūme remaining in their hands, that they may justly detaine y^e 650^{li}. which may remaine in their hands, after I am satisfied, untill Mr. Sherley & Mr. Beachamp will be more fair & just in their ending, &c. And as I intend, if y^e partners fayrly end with me, in satisfing in parte and ingaging them selves for y^e rest of my said 544^{li}. to returne back for y^e poore my parte of y^e land at Sityate, so likewise I intend to relinquish my right & intrest in their dear patente, on which much of our money was laid forth, and also my right & intrest in their cheap purchass, the which may have cost me first & last 350^{li}.* But I doubte whether other men have not charged or taken on accounte what they have disbursed in y^e like case, which I have not charged, neither did I conceive any other durst so doe, untill I saw y^e accounte of the one and heard y^e words of y^e other; the which gives me just cause to suspecte both their accounts to be unfaire; for it seemeth they consulted one with another aboute some perticulers therein. Therefore I conceive y^e partners ought y^e rather to require just accounts from each of them before they parte with any money to either of them. For marchants understand how to give an accounte; if they mean fairley, they will not deney to give an accounte, for they keep memorialls to helpe them to give exacte accounts in all perticulers, and memoriall cannot forget his charge, if y^e man will remember. I desire not to wrong Mr. Beachamp or Mr. Sherley, nor may be silente in such ap-

* This he means of y^e first adventures, all which were lost, as hath before been shown; and what he here writs is probable at least.

parente probabilities of their wronging y^e partners, and me likewise, either in deneying to deliver or shew any accounte, or in delivering one very unjuste in some perticulers, and very suspicious in many more; either of which, being from understanding marchants, cannot be from weaknes or simplisitie, and therefore y^e more unfaire. So comending you & yours, and all y^e Lord's people, unto y^e gracious protection and blessing of y^e Lord, and rest your loving friend,

RICHARD ANDREWES.

April 7. 1643.

This leter was write y^e year after y^e agreement, as doth appear; and what his judgmente was herein, y^e contents doth manifest, and so I leave it to y^e equall judgmente of any to consider, as they see cause.

Only I shall adde what M^r. Sherley further write in a leter of his, about y^e same time, and so leave this bussines. His is as followeth on y^e other side.*

[253] Loving freinds, M^r. Bradford, M^r. Winslow, Cap: Standish, M^r. Prence, and y^e rest of y^e partners wth you; I shall write this generall leter to you all, hoping it will be a good conclude of a generall, but a costly & tedious bussines I thinke to all, I am sure to me, &c.

I received from M^r. Winslow a letter of y^e 28. of Sept: last, and so much as concernes y^e generall bussines I shall answer in this, not knowing whether I shall have opportunitie to write perticuler letters, &c. I expected more letters from you all, as some perticuler writs,† but it seemeth no fitt opportunity was offered. And now, though y^e bussines for y^e maine may stand, yet some perticulers is alltered; I say my former agreemente with M^r. Weld & M^r. Peters, before they ‡ could conclude or gett any grante of M^r. Andrews, they sought to have my release; and ther upon they sealed me a bond for a 110^{li}. So I sente my acquittance, for they said without mine ther would be no end made (& ther was good reason for it). Now they hoped, if y^ey ended with me, to gaine M^r. Andrews parte, as they did

* Being the conclusion, as will be seen, of page 252 of the original. — Ed.

† Perhaps *write*, for *wrote*. — Ed.
‡ *The* in the manuscript. — Ed.

holy, to a pound, (at which I should wonder, but y^t I observe some passages,) and they also hoped to have gotten Mr. Beachamps part, & I did thinke he would have given it them. But if he did well understand him selfe, & that acounte, he would give it; for his demands make a great sound.* But it seemeth he would not parte with it, supposing it too great a sume, and y^t he might easily gaine it from you. Once he would have given them 40^{li}. but now they say he will not doe that, or rather I suppose they will not take it; for if they doe, & have Mr. Andrews, then they must pay me their bond of 110^{li}. 3 months hence. Now it will fall out farr better for you, y^t they deal not with Mr. Beachamp, and also for me, if you be as kind to me as I have been & will be to you; and y^t thus, if you pay Mr. Andrews, or y^e Bay men, by his order, 544^{li}. which is his full demande; but if looked into, perhaps might be less. The man is honest, & in my conscience would not willingly doe wronge, yett he may forgett as well as other men; and Mr. Winslow may call to minde wherin he forgetts; (but some times it is good to buy peace.) The gentle-men of y^e Bay may abate 100^{li}. and so both sids have more right & justice then if they exacte all, &c. Now if you send me a 150^{li}. then say Mr. Andrews full sume, & this, it is nere 700^{li}. Mr. Beachamp he demands 400^{li}. and we all know that, if a man demands money, he must shew wherfore, and make prooffe of his debte; which I know he can never make good proafe of one hunderd pound dew unto him as principall money; so till he can, you have good reason to keep y^e 500^{li}. &c. This I proteste I write not in malice against Mr. Beachamp, for it is a reall truth. You may partly see it by Mr. Andrews making up his accounte, and I think you are all perswaded I can say more then Mr. Andrews concerning that accounte. I wish I could make up my owne as plaine & easily, but because of former discontents, I will be sparing till I be called; & you may enjoye y^e 500^{li}. quietly till he begine; for let him take his course hear or ther, it shall be all one, I will doe him no wronge; and if he have not on peney more, he is less loser then either Mr. Andrews or I. This I conceive to be just & honest; y^e having or not having of his release matters not; let him make such proafe of his debte as you cannot

* This was a misterie to them, for y^e last year, till now y^e conelusion was they heard nothing hereof from any side past, and bonds given.

disprove, and according to your first agreemente you will pay it, &c.

Your truly affectioned freind,

JAMES SHERLEY.

London, Aprill 27. 1643.

*Anno Dom: 1643.**

I AM to begine this year whith that which was a mater of great saddnes and moūring unto them all. Aboute y^e 18.† of Aprill dyed their Reve^d Elder, and my dear & loving friend, Mr. William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for y^e Lord Jesus and y^e gospels sake, and had bore his parte in well and woe with this poore persecuted church above ‡ 36. years [254] in England, Holand, and in this wildernes, and done y^e Lord & them faithfull service in his place & calling. And notwithstanding y^e many troubls and sorrows he passed throw, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was nere four-skore§ years of age (if not all out) when he dyed. He had this blesing added by y^e Lord to all y^e rest, to dye in his bed, in peace, amongst y^e mids of his freinds, who mourned & wepte over him, and ministered what help & comforte they could unto him, and he againe recomforted them whilst he could. His sicknes was not long, and till y^e last day therof he did not wholly keepe his bed. His speeche continued till somewhat more then halfe a day, & then failed him; and aboute 9. or 10. a clock that eving he dyed, without any pangs at all. A few howers before,

* The Assistants this year were Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, William Collier, Timothy Hatherly, John Brown, Edmund Freeman, and William Thomas. See Morton's Memorial, under this year. — Ed.

† In the Plymouth Church Records, where this memoir was copied by Morton from this History, he erroneously substituted the 16th of April, 1644, for the date in the text. It is stated correctly in the Memorial. Dr. Young has

printed this memoir in the Chronicles of the Pilgrims, pp. 461–469, from Morton's copy. Morton printed a portion of it in the Memorial, and Judge Davis has added what he omitted, from the Church Records. — Ed.

‡ In Morton's copy it is "about" 36 years. — Ed.

§ Morton, in his Memorial, professedly citing from Bradford, says, "He was fourscore and four years of age," which may be an error. — Ed.

he drew his breath shorte, and some few minuts before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man falen into a sound slepe, without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any, what he was y^e worse for any former sufferings? What doe I say, worse? Nay, sure he was y^e better, and they now added to his honour. *It is a manifest token* (saith y^e Apostle, 2. Thes: 1. 5, 6, 7.) *of y^e righeous judgmente of God y^t ye may be counted worthy of y^e kingdome of God, for which ye allso suffer; seing it is a righteous thing with God to recompence tribulation to them y^t trouble you: and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when y^e Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels. 1. Pet. 4. 14. If you be reproached for y^e name of Christ, hapy are ye, for y^e spirite of glory and of God resteth upon you.* What though he wanted y^e riches and pleasurs of y^e world in this life, and pompous monuments at his funurall? yet y^e memoriall of y^e just shall be blessed, when y^e name of y^e wicked shall rott (with their marble monuments). Pro: 10. 7.*

I should say something of his life, if to say a litle were not worse then to be silent. But I cannot wholly forbear, though hapily more may be done hereafter. After he had attained some learning, viz. y^e knowledg of y^e Latine tongue, & some insight in y^e Greeke, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with y^e seeds of grace and vertue, he went to y^e Courte, and served that religious and godly gentlman, M^r. Davison, diverce years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreete and faithfull as he trusted him above all other that were aboute him, and only imployed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecie. He esteemed him rather as a sonne then a servante, and for his wisdom & godlines (in private) he would converse with him more

* Some of the passages here cited appear to be from the common version of the Bible. See page 6. — Ed.

like a freind & familier then a maister. He attended his m^r. when he was sente in ambassage by the Queene into y^e Low-Countries, in y^e Earle of Leicesters time, as for other waighty affaires of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary townes,* and in token & signe therof the keyes of Flushing being delivered to him, in her ma^{tis} name, he kepte them some time, and comitted them to this his servante, who kept them under his pilow, on which he slepte y^e first night. And, at his returne, y^e States honoured him with a gould chaine, and his maister comitted it to him, and comanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they ridd thorow the country, till they came to y^e Courte. He afterwards remained with him till his troubles, that he was put from his place aboute y^e death of y^e Queene of Scots;† and some good time after, doeing him manie faithfull offices of servise in y^e time of his troubles. Afterwards he wente and lived in y^e country, in good esteeme amongst his freinds and y^e gentle-men of those parts, espetially the godly & religious. He did much good in y^e countrie wher he lived, in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practiss & example, and provocking and incouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to y^e places therabout, and drawing on of others to assiste & help forward in such a worke; he him selfe most comonly deepest in y^e charge, & some times above his abillitie. And in this

* "Early in 1585, the States of the Low Countries became obliged to throw themselves on the Queen's protection, and after Antwerp was seized by the Spaniards, she was necessitated to adopt decided measures. Elizabeth determined to assist them in their resolution of defending their freedom by force of arms; and Mr. Davidson was selected as her majesty's ambassador to form the treaty with them which was to be the basis of their alliance with England. He went into Holland, according to Lord Burleigh's account, in August, 1585." As security for the repayment

of considerable sums of money advanced by Elizabeth for their service, "the towns of Flushing and Brille, and the castle of Rammekins, were given up to her." See Nicholas's Life of William Davidson, p. 15: Grattan's Netherlands, p. 181. — Ed.

† The death of Mary was on the 8th of February, 1586-7. The particulars of the fall of Davidson, which is a matter of public history, need not be repeated here. Being a Puritan, the residence of Brewster in his family may account for the original leaning of the latter to that party. — Ed.

state he continued many years, doeing y^e best good he could, and walking according to y^e light he saw, till y^e Lord reveiled further unto him. And in y^e end, by y^e tirrorany of y^e bishops against godly preachers & people, in silenceing the one & persecuting y^e other, he and many more of those times begane to looke further into things, and to see into y^e unlawfullnes of their callings, and y^e burthen of many anti-christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast of; as y^e^{ey} allso did, as in y^e begining of this treatis is to be scene. [255] After they were joyned together in comunion, he was a spetiall stay & help unto them. They ordinarily mett at his house on y^e Lords day, (which was a manor of y^e bishops,*)

* Bradford is silent as to the place of Brewster's residence or the location of this church; but the Rev. Joseph Hunter, of London, in a valuable little tract published in 1849, entitled "The Founders of New Plymouth," a second and enlarged edition of which appeared in 1854, has conclusively shown that the location of this church, which "ordinarily met" at the house of Brewster, was in the village of Serooby, in that part of Nottinghamshire known as the Hundred of Basset-Lawe, near to the borders of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and a few miles only from Aus-

longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could; which was in the year 1607 and 1608." Their first attempt at removal was probably in the fall of 1607. Again; in this memoir of Brewster he says that he "had borne his part in weal and woe with this poor persecuted church *above* thirty-six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness." Robinson must have united with them about the same time. Contemporaneous with this church at Serooby, of which Clifton and Robinson were the preachers, was another Dissenting church, not far distant, of which, Bradford informs us, Mr. John Smith was pastor. Mr. Hunter tells us that the location of this church was at Gainsborough, on the Trent; that it was earlier in its formation than the one at Serooby, so that possibly it may have comprehended at one time the people of both. Smith and his people removed to Holland before the emigration of the Serooby church, and settled at Amsterdam, "where, for the most part, they buried themselves and their names." Secretary Morton, in his Memorial, gives 1602 as the year of the formation of the church of which Robinson became pastor. If this date is to be relied on, it may refer to the earlier church-union indicated above.

"The distinction of Smith's church and Robinson's church," says Mr. Hunter, "the Gainsborough and the Seroo-



terfield, the residence of Bradford. This church was probably established in the year 1606, the evidence to this point being pretty decisive. On pages 10 and 11 of this History, Bradford states, that "after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or other, . . . seeing they could no

and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge.* He was y^e cheefe of those that were taken at Boston, and suffered y^e greatest loss; and of y^e seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to y^e assises.† After he came into Holland he suffered much hardship, after he had spent y^e most of his means, having a great charge, and many children; and, in regard of his former breeding & course of life, not so fitt for many imployments as others were, espetially such as were toylesume & laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cherfullnes and contentation. Towards y^e later parte of those 12. years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well & plentifully; for he fell into a way (by reason he had y^e Latine tongue) to teach many students, who had a disire to lerne y^e English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facilitie; for he drew rules to lerne it by, after y^e Latine maner; and many gentlemen, both Danes & Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great mens soñes. He also had means to set up printing,‡ (by y^e help of some freinds,)

by churches, though agreeing in the point of the duty of separation, ought always to be kept in view. It was the latter which formed the Plymouth emigration, and which flourished when Smith's church came to nothing."

It appears from the second edition of Mr. Hunter's book, that Brewster held the office of Postmaster at Scrooby from 1594, and perhaps earlier, to the 30th of September, 1607, when he resigned the charge. — Ed.

* In Morton's copy there is added after charge: "and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England. And when they were to remove out of the country, he was one of the first in all adventures, and forwardest in any." Young, p. 465. — Ed.

† See page 12. — Ed.

‡ Among the books printed by Brewster at Leyden was a Commentary on

the Proverbs of Solomon, by Thomas Cartwright, 1617. A copy of this work was, a few years since, in the possession of the pastor of the First Church of Plymouth, and another is in the library of the Pilgrim Society at the same place. See Young, p. 466; Thatcher's Plymouth, p. 270.

From the letters of Sir Dudley Carleton to Secretary Naunton, written from the Hague in 1619, it appears that ineffectual attempts were made by the former, at the instigation of the English government, to effect the arrest of Brewster, for the obnoxious books which he had printed. But one Brewer, who, Carleton says, "set him on work, and, being a man of means, bare the charge of his printing, is fast in the University's prison." See Carleton's Letters, ed. 1757, pp. 380, 386, 389, 390, 437; Young, pp. 467, 468. — Ed.

and so had imploymente inoughg, and by reason of many books which would not be alowed to be printed in England, they might have had more then they could doe. But now removeing into this countrie, all these things were laid aside againe, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his parte, and to bear his burthen with y^e rest, living many times without bread, or corne, many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunke nothing but water for many years togeather, yea, till within 5. or 6. years of his death. And yet he lived (by y^e blessing of God) in health till very old age. And besides y^t, he would labour with his hands in y^e feilds as long as he was able; yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Saboth, and y^t both powerfully and profitably, to y^e great contentment of y^e hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministrie. He did more in this behalfe in a year, then many that have their hundreds a year doe in all their lives. For his personall abilities, he was qualified above many; he was wise and discreete and well spoken, having a grave & deliberate utterance, of a very cherfull spirite, very sociable & pleasant amongst his freinds, of an humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, under vallewing him self & his owne abilities, and some time over valewing others; inoffensive and inöcente in his life & conversation, w^{ch} gained him y^e love of those without, as well as those within; yet he would tell them plainely of their faults & evils, both publickly & privatly, but in such a maner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender harted, and compassionate of such as were in miserie, but espetially of such as had been of good estate and ranke, and were fallen unto want & poverty, either for goodnes & religions sake, or by y^e injury & oppression of others; he would say, of all men these deserved to be pitied most. And none did

more offend & displease him then such as would hautilly and proudly carry & lift up themselves, being rise from nothing, and haveing litle els in them to comend them but a few fine cloaths, or a litle riches more then others. In teaching, he was very moving & stirring of affections, also very plaine & distincte in what he taught; by which means he became y^e more profitable to y^e hearers. He had a singuler good gift in prayer, both publick & private, in ripping up y^e hart & conscience before God, in y^e humble confession of sinne, and begging y^e mercies of God in Christ for y^e pardon of y^e same. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and devide their prears, then be longe & tedious in y^e same (excepte upon sollemne & spetiall occations, as in days of humiliation & y^e like). His reason was, that y^e harte & spirits of all, espetially y^e weake, could hardly continue & stand bente (as it were) so long towards God, as they ought to doe in y^t duty, without flagging and falling of. For y^e govermente of y^e church, (which was most [256] proper to his office,) he was carfull to preserve good order in y^e same, and to preserve puritie, both in y^e doctrine & comunion of y^e same; and to supress any errour or contention that might begine to rise up amongst them; and accordingly God gave good success to his indeavors herein all his days, and he saw y^e fruite of his labours in that behalfe. But I must breake of, having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things.

I cannot but here take occasion, not only to mention, but greatly to admire y^e marvelous providence of God, that notwithstanding y^e many changes and hardships that these people wente throwgh, and y^e many enemies they had and difficulties they mette with all, that so many of them should live to very olde age! It was not only this reve^d mans condition, (for one swallow maks no summer, as they say,) but many more of them did y^e like, some dying aboute and before this time, and many still living, who

attained to 60. years of age, and to 65. diverse to 70. and above, and some nere 80. as he did.* It must needs be more then ordinarie, and above naturall reason, that so it should be ; for it is found in experience, that chaing of aier, famine, or unholosome foode, much drinking of water, sorrows & troubls, &c., all of them are enimies to health, causes of many diseaces, consumers of naturall vigoure and y^e bodys of men, and shortners of life. And yet of all these things they had a large parte, and suffered deeply in y^e same. They wente from England to Holand, wher they found both worse air and dyet then that they came from ; from thence (induring a long imprisonmente, as it were, in y^e ships at sea) into New-England ; and how it hath been with them hear hath allready beene showne ; and what crosses, troubls, fears, wants, and sorrowes they have been lyable unto, is easie to conjecture ; so as in some sorte they may say with y^e Apostle, 2. Cor: 11. 26, 27. *they were in journeings often, in perills of waters, in perills of robbers, in perills of their owne nation, in perills among y^e heathen, in perills in y^e willdernes, in perills in y^e sea, in perills among false breethern ; in wearines & painfullnes, in watching often, in hunger and thirst, in fasting often, in could and nakednes.* What was it then that upheld them ? It was Gods vissitation that preserved their spirits. Job 10. 12. *Thou hast given me life and grace, and thy vissitation hath preserved my spirite.* He that upheld y^e Apostle upheld them. *They were persecuted, but not forsaken, cast downe, but perished not.* 2. Cor: 4. 9. *As unknowen, and yet knowen ; as dying, and behold we live ; as chastened, and yett not kiled.* 2. Cor: 6. 9. God, it seems, would have all men to behold and observe such mercies and works of his providence as these are towards his people, that they in like cases might be encouraged to depend

* Judge Davis, on pages 226-228 of his edition of the Memorial, publishes a list exhibiting the longevity of many of the first planters of the Old

Colony ; he gives also a few similar instances of great age in the other New England colonies. — Ed.

upon God in their trials, & also blese his name when they see his goodnes towards others. Man lives not by bread only, Deut: 8. 3. It is not by good & dainty fare, by peace, & rest, and harts ease, in injoying y^e contentments and good things of this world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God in such examples would have y^e world see & behold that he can doe it without them; and if y^e world will shut ther eyes, and take no notice therof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniell could be better liking with pulse then others were with y^e kings dainties. Jaacob, though ~~he~~ wente from one nation to another people, and passed thorow famine, fears, & many afflictions, yet he lived till old age, and dyed sweetly, & rested in y^e Lord, as infinite others of Gods servants have done, and still shall doe, (through Gods goodnes,) notwithstanding all y^e malice of their enemies; *when y^e branch of y^e wicked shall be cut of before his day*, Job. 15. 32. *and y^e bloody and deceitfull men shall not live out halfe their days*. Psa: 55. 23.

By reason of y^e plottings of the Narigansets, (ever since y^e Pequents warr,) the Indeans were drawne into a generall conspiracie against y^e English in all parts, as was in part discovered y^e yeare before; and now made more plaine and evidente by many discoveries and free-confessions of sundrie Indeans (upon severall occasions) from diverse places, concurring in one; with such other concurring circomstances as gave them suffisently to understand the trueth therof, and to thinke of means how to prevente y^e same, and secure them selves. Which made them enter into this more nere union & confederation following.

[257] Articles of Confederation betweene y^e Plantations under y^e Gouvernente of Massachusets, y^e Plantations under y^e Gouvernente of New-Plimoth, y^e Plantations under y^e Gouvernente of Conightecute, and y^e Gouvernente of New-Haven, with y^e Plantations in combination therwith.

Wheras we all came into these parts of America with one

and y^e same end and aime, namely, to advance the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, & to injoye y^e liberties of y^e Gospell in puritie with peace; and wheras in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further disperced upon y^e sea coasts and rivers then was at first intended, so y^t we cannot, according to our desires, with conveniencie communicate in one govermente & jurisdiction; and wheras we live encompassed with people of severall nations and strang languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posteritie; and for as much as y^e natives have formerly comitted sundrie insolencies and outrages upon severall plantations of y^e English, and have of late combined them selves against us; and seeing, by reason of those distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered from y^t humble way of seeking advice or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expecte; we therefore doe conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consociation amongst our selves, for mutuall help & strength in all our future concerns. That as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be & continue one, according to y^e tenor and true meaning of the insuing articles. Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by & betweene y^e parties or jurisdictions above named, and they joyntly & severally doe by these presents agree & conclude, that they all be and henceforth be called by y^e name of The United Colonies of New-England.

2. The said United Collonies, for them selves & their posterities, doe joyntly & severally hereby enter into a firme & perpetuall league of frendship & amitie, for offence and defence, mutuall advice and succore upon all just occasions, both for preserving & propagating y^e truth [and liberties] of y^e Gospell, and for their owne mutuall saftie and wellfare.

3. It is further agreed that the plantations which at presente are or hereafter shall be settled with[in] y^e limites of y^e Massachusetts shall be for ever under y^e Massachusetts, and shall have peculier jurisdiction amonge them selves in all cases, as an intire body. And y^t Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-Haven shall each of them have like peculier jurisdiction and govermente within their limites, and in refference to y^e plantations which allready are settled, or shall hereafter be erected, or shall settle within their limites, respectively; provided y^t no other jurisdiction

shall hereafter be taken in, as a distincte head or member of this confederation, nor shall any other plantation or jurisdiction in presente being, and not allready in combination or under y^e jurisdiction of any of these confederats, be received by any of them; nor shall any tow of y^e confederats joyne in one jurisdiction, without consente of y^e rest, which consête to be interpreted as is expresed in y^e sixte article ensewing.

4. It is by these confederats agreed, y^t the charge of all just warrs, whether offensive or defensive, upon what parte or member of this confederation soever they fall, shall, both in men, provisions, and all other disbursments, be borne by all y^e parts of this confederation, in differente proportions, according to their differente abillities, in maner following: namely, y^t the comissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time, as ther shall be occasion; bring a true accounte and number of all their males in every plantation, or any way belonging too or under their severall jurisdictions, of what qualitie or condition soever they be, from 16. years old to 60. being inhabitants ther; and y^t according to y^e differente numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction upon a true & just accounte, the service of men and all charges of y^e warr be borne by y^e pole; each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their owne just course & custome of rating them selves and people according to their differente estates, with due respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst them selves, though the confederats take no notice of any such priviledg. And y^t according to their differente charge of each jurisdiction & plantation, the whole advantage of y^e warr, (if it please God to blesse their indeaours,) whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionably divided amonge y^e said confederats.

5. It is further agreed, that if [any of] these jurisdictions, or any plantation under or in combynacion with them, be invaded by any enemie whomsoever, upon notice & requeste of any 3. [258] magistrats of y^t jurisdiction so invaded, y^e rest of y^e confederats, without any further meeting or expostulation, shall forthwith send ayde to y^e confederate in danger, but in differente proportion; namely, y^e Massachusetts an hundred men sufficiently armed & provided for such a service and journey, and each of y^e rest forty five so armed & provided, or any lesser number, if less be required according to this proportion. But if such con-

federate in danger may be supplied by their nexte confederates, not exceeding y^e number hereby agreed, they may crave help ther, and seeke no further for y^e presente; y^e charge to be borne as in this article is exprest, and at y^e returne to be victualled & suplyed with powder & shote for their journey (if ther be need) by y^t jurisdiction which employed or sent for them. But none of y^e jurisdictions to exceede these numbers till, by a meeting of y^e comissioners for this confederation, a greater aide appear nes-sessarie. And this proportion to continue till upon knowlege of greater numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to y^e nexte meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in [any] such case of sending men for presente aide, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed y^t at y^e meeting of y^e comissioners for this confederation, the cause of such warr or invasion be duly considered; and if it appeare y^t the falte lay in y^e parties so invaded, y^t then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to y^e invaders whom they have injured, and beare all y^e charges of y^e warr them selves, without requiring any allowance from y^e rest of y^e confederats towards y^e same. And further, y^t if any jurisdiction see any danger of any invasion approaching, and ther be time for a meeting, that in such a case 3. magistrats of y^t jurisdiction may sumone a meeting, at such conveniente place as them selves shall thinke meete, to consider & provid against y^e threatened danger, provided when they are mett, they may remove to what place they please; only, whilst any of these foure confederats have but 3 magistrats in their jurisdiction, their requeste, or summons, from any 2. of them shall be accounted of equall force with y^e 3. mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till ther be an increase of majestrats ther.

6. It is also agreed y^t, for y^e managing & concluding of all affairs propper, & concerning the whole confederation, tow comissioners shall be chosen by & out of each of these 4. jurisdictions; namly, 2. for y^e Massachusetts, 2. for Plimoth, 2. for Conightecutt, and 2. for New-Haven, being all in church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their severall Generall Courts respectively to hear, examene, waigh, and determine all affairs of warr, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for warr, divissions of spoyles, & whatsoever is gotten by conquest; receiving of more confederats, and all things of like nature, which are y^e proper concomitants or con-

sequences of such a confederation, for amitie, offence, & defence; not intermeddling with y^e govermente of any of y^e jurisdictions, which by y^e 3. article is preserved entirely to them selves. But if these 8. comissioners when they meete shall not all agree, yet it [is] concluded that any 6. of the 8. agreeing shall have power to settle & determine y^e bussines in question. But if 6. doe not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons, so farr as they have been debated, be sente, and referred to y^e 4. Generall Courts, viz. y^e Massachusetts, Plimoth, Conigh-tecutt, and New-haven; and if at all y^e said Generall Courts y^e bussines so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by y^e confederats, and all their members. It was further agreed that these 8. comissioners shall meete once every year, besids extraordinarie meetings, (according to the fift article,) to consider, treat, & conclude of all affaires belonging to this confederation, which meeting shall ever be y^e first Thursday in September. And y^t the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted y^e second meeting, shall be at Boston in y^e Massachusetts, the 3. at Hartford, the 4. at New-Haven, the 5. at Plimoth, and so in course successively, if in y^e meane time some midle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be comodious for all y^e jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed, y^t at each meeting of these 8. comissioners, whether ordinarie, or extraordinary, they all 6. of them agreeing as before, may chuse a presidente out of them selves, whose office & work shall be to take care and directe for order, and a comly carrying on of all proceedings in y^e present meeting; but he shall be invested with no such power or respecte, as by which he shall hinder y^e propounding or progresse of any bussines, or any way cast y^e scales otherwise then in y^e precedente article is agreed.

[259] 8. It is also agreed, y^t the comissioners for this confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as they may have comission or opportunitie, doe indeaover to frame and establish agreements & orders in generall cases of a civill nature, wherein all y^e plantations are interested, for y^e preserving of peace amongst them selves, and preventing as much as may be all occasions of warr or disference with others; as aboute y^e free & speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all y^e confederats equally as to their owne; receiving those y^t remove from one plantation to another without due

certificate; how all y^e jurisdictions may carry towards y^e Indians, that they neither growe insolente, nor be injured without due satisfaction, least warr breake in upon the confederats through such miscarriages. It is also agreed, y^t if any servante rune away from his maister into another of these confederated jurisdictions, that in such case, upon y^e certificate of one magistrate in y^e jurisdiction out of which y^e said servante fledd, or upon other due prooffe, the said servante shall be delivered, either to his maister, or any other y^t pursues & brings such certificate or prooffe. And y^t upon y^e escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminall cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from y^e officer, or otherwise escaping, upon y^e certificate of 2. magistrats of y^e jurisdiction out of which y^e escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at y^e time of y^e escape, the magistrats, or sume of them of y^t jurisdiction wher for y^e presente the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grante such a warrante as y^e case will beare, for y^e apprehending of any such person, & y^e delivering of him into y^e hands of y^e officer, or other person who pursues him. And if ther be help required, for y^e safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him y^t craves y^e same, he paying the charges therof.

9. And for y^t the justest warrs may be of dangerous consequence, espetially to y^e smaler plantations in these United Collonies, it is agreed y^t neither y^e Massachusetts, Plimoth, Conightecutt, nor New-Haven, nor any member of any of them, shall at any time hear after begine, undertake, or ingage them selves, or this confederation, or any parte therof, in any warr whatsoever, (sudden * exegents, with y^e necessary consequents therof excepted, which are also to be moderated as much as y^e case will permitte,) without y^e consente and agremente of y^e forementioned 8. comissioners, or at y^e least 6. of them, as in y^e sixt article is provided. And y^t no charge be required of any of the confederats, in case of a defensive warr, till y^e said comissioners have mett, and approved y^e justice of y^e warr, and have agreed upon y^e sūme of money to be levied, which sūme is then to be paid by the severall confederats in proportion according to y^e fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are sum-

* Substituted for *sundry* on the authority of the original MS. Records. — Ed.

moned by three magistrates of any jurisdiction, or 2. as in y^e 5. article, if any of y^e comissioners come not, due warning being given or sente, it is agreed y^t 4. of the comissioners shall have power to directe a warr which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as 6. might doe if all mett; but not less then 6. shall determine the justice of y^e warr, or alow y^e demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for y^e same.

11. It is further agreed, y^t if any of y^e confederats shall hereafter breake any of these presente articles, or be any other ways injurious to any one of y^e other jurisdictions, such breach of agremente or injurie shall be duly considered and ordered by y^e comissioners for y^e other jurisdiction; that both peace and this presente confederation may be intirly preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetuall confederation, and y^e severall articles therof being read, and seriously considered, both by y^e Generall Courte for y^e Massachusets, and by y^e comissioners for Plimoth, Conigtecute, & New-Haven, were fully alowed & confirmed by 3. of y^e forenamed confederats, namly, y^e Massachusets, Conightecutt, and New-Haven; only y^e comissioners for Plimoth haveing no comission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their Generall Courte; wher upon it was agreed and concluded by y^e said Courte of y^e Massachusets, and the comissioners for y^e other tow confederats, that, if Plimoth consente, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present artiels is, and shall continue, firme & stable without alteration. But if Plimoth come not in, yet y^e other three confederats doe by these presents [260] confeirme y^e whole confederation, and y^e articles therof; only in September nexte, when y^e second meeting of y^e comissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of y^e 6. article, which concerns number of comissioners for meeting & concluding the affaires of this confederation, to y^e satisfaction of y^e Courte of y^e Massachusets, and y^e comissioners for y^e other 2. confederats, but y^e rest to stand unquestioned. In y^e testimonie wherof, y^e Generall Courte of y^e Massachusets, by ther Secretary, and y^e comissioners for Conightecutt and New-Haven, have subscribed these presente articles this 19.* of y^e third month, comonly called May, Anno Dom: 1643.

* Winthrop, II. 106, erroneously dates this the 29th. See Mr. Savage's note at the same page. — Ed.

At a meeting of y^e comissioners for y^e confederation held at Boston y^e 7. of Sept: it appearing that the Generall Courte of New-Plimoth, and y^e severall townshipes therof, have read & considered & approved these articles of confederation, as appeareth by comission from their Generall Courte bearing date y^e 29. of August, 1643. to M^r. Edward Winslow and M^r. William Collier, to ratifie and confirme y^e same on their behalves. We, therefore, y^e Comissioners for y^e Massachusetts, Conightecutt, & New-Haven, doe also, for our severall governments, subscribe unto them.*

JOHN WINTHROP, Gov^r. of y^e Massachusest.

THO: DUDLEY.

THEOPH: EATON.

GEO: FENWICK.

EDWA: HOPKINS.

THOMAS GREGSON.

These were y^e articles of agreemente in y^e union and confederation which they now first entered into; and in this their first meeting, held at Boston y^e day & year abovesaid, amongst other things they had this matter of great consequence to considere on: the Narigansets, after y^e subduing of y^e Pequents, thought to have ruled over all y^e Indeans aboute them; but y^e English, espetially those of Conightecutt holding correspondencie & frenship with Uncass, sachem of y^e Monhigg Indeans which lived nere them, (as y^e Massachusetts had done with y^e Narigansets,) and he had been faithfull to them in y^e Pequente warr, they were ingaged to supporte him in his just liberties, and were contented y^t such of y^e surviving Pequents as had submited to him should remaine with him and quietly under his protection. This did much increase his power and augmente his greatnes, which y^e Narigansets could not indure to see. But Myantinomo, their cheefe

* These articles of agreement may also be seen in Hazard, II. 1-6, at the beginning of his copy of the Records of the United Colonies, which are embraced in 542 pages of that volume. Hazard probably printed from the copy of these Records belonging to Plymouth. These valuable papers will soon be given to

the public in a more attractive form, in connection with the Old Colony Records, which are now printing by the State, under the careful superintendence of Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, in the same superior manner in which that labor has been accomplished for the early Records of the Massachusetts Colony. — Ed.

sachem, (an ambitious & politick man,) sought privatly and by treachery (according to y^e Indean maner) to make him away, by hiring some to kill him. Sometime they assayed to poyson him; that not takeing, then in y^e night time to knock him on y^e head in his house, or secretly to shoot him, and such like attempts. But none of these taking effecte, he made open warr upon him (though it was against y^e covenants both betweene y^e English & them, as also betweene them selves, and a plaine breach of y^e same). He came suddanly upon him with 900. or 1000. men (never denouncing any warr before). Y^e others power at y^t presente was not above halfe so many; but it pleased God to give Uncass y^e victory, and he slew many of his men, and wounded many more; but y^e cheefe of all was, he tooke Miantinomo prisoner. And seeing he was a greate man, and y^e Narigansets a potente people & would seeke revenge, he would doe nothing in y^e case without y^e advise of y^e English; so he (by y^e help & direction of those of Conightcutt) kept him prisoner till this meeting of y^e comissioners. The comissioners weighed y^e cause and passages, as they were clearly represented & sufficiently evidenced betwixte Uncass and Myantinomo; and the things being duly considered, the comissioners apparently saw y^t Uncass could not be safe whilst Miantynomo lived, but, either by secrete trechery or open force, his life would still be in danger. Wherefore they thought he might justly put such a false & bloud-thirstie enemie to death; but in his owne jurisdiction, not in y^e English plantations. And they advised, in y^e maner of his death all mercy and moderation should be showed, contrary to y^e practise of y^e Indeans, who exercise torturs and cruelty. And, [261] Uncass having hitherto shewed him selfe a freind to y^e English, and in this craving their advise, if the Narigansett Indeans or others shall unjustly assaulte Uncass for this execution, upon notice and re-

quest, y^e English promise to assiste and protecte him as farr as they may agāiste such violence.

This was y^e issue of this bussines. The reasons and passages hereof are more at large to be seene in y^e acts & records of this meeting of y^e comissioners. And Uncass followd this advise, and accordingly executed him, in a very faire maner, acording as they advised, with due respecte to his honour & greatnes.* But what followed on y^e Narigansets parte will appear hear after.

Anno Dom: 1644.

M^r. EDWARD WINSLOW was chosen Gov^r this year.†

Many having left this place (as is before noted) by reason of y^e straightnes & barrennes of y^e same, and their finding of better accommodations elsewhere, more sutable to their ends & minds; and sundrie others still upon every occasion desiring their dismissions, the church begane seriously to thinke whether it were not better joyntly to remove to some other place, then to be thus weakened,

* The fate of Miantinomo cannot fail to impress the attentive reader of the history of that transaction with a feeling of deep sympathy for the noble prisoner. The reasons for the advice given to Uncas by the commissioners of the United Colonies, at their session at Boston in September of this year, which resulted in his execution, may be seen at large in Hazard, II. 7-9. They will not appear satisfactory to a reader of the present day. There is reason to believe that the friendly relations of Miantinomo with Gorton and his heterodox associates, in connection with the sale of Shawomet and Patuxet to the latter, may have operated as a secret ground of influence against him. Winthrop's account of this transaction, II. 130-134, should be read in this connection, and also Mr. Savage's note at the same place. See also Drake's History of Boston, pp. 272-275, and Trumbull, I. 134, 135. The execution

took place soon after the return of the Connecticut and New Haven commissioners, at a spot now called Sachem's Plain, in the eastern part of the town of Norwich, where a monument is erected bearing this inscription: "Miantonomo, 1643."—Ed.

† The Assistants this year were the same as those of the last year, with the exception that Bradford took the place of Prence. Morton notices the death, this year, of John Atwood and of John Jenny. The former was an Assistant in 1638. He and William Collier are mentioned, on page 377, as acquaintances of Mr. Sherley, and they were appointed by him to effect a settlement with the partners here. Jenny arrived in the Little James, in 1623. He was an Assistant in 1637, and was continued in the office four years. See Winsor's Duxbury, pp. 179, 180; Morton's Memorial, under the years 1623, 1637-1640, 1641.—Ed.

and as it were insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation was held hearabout, and diverse were mens minds and opinions. Some were still for staying togeather in this place, aledging men might hear live, if they would be contente with their condition; and y^t it was not for wante or necessitie so much y^t they removed, as for y^e enriching of them selves. Others were resolute upon removall, and so signified y^t hear y^{ey} could not stay; but if y^e church did not remove, they must; insomuch as many were swayed, rather then ther should be a dissolution, to condescend to a removall, if a fitt place could be found, that might more conveniently and comfortablie receive y^e whole, with such accession of others as might come to them, for their better strength & subsistance; and some such like cautions and limitations. So as, with y^e afforesaide provissos, y^e greater parte consented to a removall to a place called Nawsett, which had been superficially veiwed and y^e good will of y^e purchassers* (to whom it belonged) obtained, with some addition thertoo from y^e Courte. But now they begane to see their errour, that they had given away already the best & most comodious places to others, and now wanted them selves; for this place was about 50. myles from hence, and at an outside of y^e countrie, remote from all society; also, that it would prove so strait, as it would not be competente to receive y^e whole body, much less be capable of any addition or

* The tract of land which embraced Nauset was one of the three parcels reserved to the purchasers, or old comers, on the surrender of the patent by Bradford, March 2d, 1640-1. Governor Prentice was one of the first settlers of this place, and with him were associated Deacon John Doan, Nicholas Snow, Josiah Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley, and Edward Bangs. In 1651, the Court ordered that Nauset should henceforth be called and known by the name of Eastham. The church at Eastham "was the third," says Cotton, the author of the Account of Plymouth

Church, "which came forth as it were out of our bowels." Duxbury and Marshfield had before been settled, entirely from Plymouth. With the exception of Scituate, which was peopled partly from the parent settlement, the other towns then existing in the colony were settled from other sources. See pp. 372, 373; Hazard, I. 468; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, p. 231; Pratt's History of Eastham, Wellfleet, and Orleans, pp. 12, 22; Appendix to Robbins's Ordination Sermon, 1760, pp. 5, 7. — Ed.

increase; so as (at least in a shorte time) they should be worse ther then they are now hear. The which, with sundery other like considerations and inconveniences, made them chaing their resolutions; but such as were before resolved upon removall tooke advantage of this agremente, & wente on notwithstanding, neither could y^e rest hinder them, they haveing made some begining. And thus was this poore church left, like an anciente mother, growne olde, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections,) yett in regarde of their bodily presence and personall helpfullness. Her anciente members being most of them worne away by death; and these of later time being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became her selfe poore.

[262] *Some things handled, and pacified by y^e comissioner this year.*

Wheras, by a wise providence of God, tow of y^e jurisdictions in y^e westerne parts, viz. Conightcutt & New-haven, have beene latly exercised by sundrie insolencies & outrages from y^e Indeans; as, first, an Englishman, runing from his m^r. out of Massachuseits, was murdered in y^e woods, in or nere y^e limites of Conightcute jurisdiction;* and aboute 6. weeks after, upon discovery by an Indean, y^e Indean sagamore in these parts promised to deliver the murderer to y^e English, bound; and having accordingly brought him within y^e sight of Uncaway, by their joynte consente, as it is informed, he was ther unbound, and left to shifte for him selfe; wherupon 10. Englishmen forth-with coming to y^e place, being sente by Mr. Ludlow, at y^e Indeans desire, to receive y^e murderer, who seeing him escaped, layed hold of 8. of y^e Indeans ther presente, amongst whom ther was a sagamore or 2. and kept them in hold 2. days, till 4. sagamors ingaged themselves within one month to deliver y^e prisoner. And about a weeke after this agremente, an Indean came presumtuously and with guile, in y^e day time, and mur-

* This murder was committed in the spring of this year, between Fairfield and Stamford. See Trumbull, I. p. 142. — Ed.

therously assaulted an English woman in her house at Stamford, and by 3. wounds, supposed mortall, left her for dead, after he had robbed y^e house. By which passages y^e English were provoked, & called to a due consideration of their owne saftie; and y^e Indeans generally in those parts arose in an hostile maⁿer, refused to come to y^e English to carry on treaties of peace, departed from their wigwames, left their corne unweeded, and shewed them selves tumultuously about some of y^e English plantations, & shott of peece within hearing of y^e towne; and some Indeans came to y^e English & tould them y^e Indeans would fall upon them. So y^t most of y^e English thought it unsafe to travell in those parts by land, and some of y^e plantations were put upon strong watchs and ward, night & day, & could not attend their private occasions, and yet distrusted their owne strength for their defence. Whereupon Hartford & New-Haven were sent unto for aide, and saw cause both to send into y^e weaker parts of their owne jurisdiction thus in danger, and New-Haven, for conveniencie of situation, sente aide to Uncaway, though belonging to Conightecutt. Of all which passages they presently acquainted y^e comissioners in y^e Bay, & had y^e allowance & approbation from y^e Generall Courte ther, with directions neither to hasten warr nor to bear such insolencies too longe. Which courses, though chargeable to them selves, yet through Gods blessing they hope fruite is, & will be, sweete and wholsome to all y^e collonies; the murderers are since delivered to justice, the publick peace preserved for y^e presente, & probabilitie it may be better secured for y^e future.*

Thus this mischeefe was prevented, and y^e fear of a warr hereby diverted. But now an other broyle was begune by y^e Narigansets; though they unjustly had made warr upon Uncass, (as is before declared,) and had, y^e winter before this, earnestly presed y^e Gove^r of y^e Massachusetts that they might still make warr upon them to revenge y^e death of their sagamore, w^{ch}, being taken prisoner, was by them put to death, (as before was noted,) pretending that they had first received and accepted his ransome, and then put him to death. But y^e Gove^r re-

* Sec Hazard, II. 22, 23. — Ed.

fused their presents, and tould them y^t it was them selves had done y^e wronge, & broaken y^e conditions of peace; and he nor y^e English neither could nor would allow them to make any further warr upon him, but if they did, must assiste him, & oppose them; but if it did appeare, upon good prooffe, that he had received a ransome for his life, before he put him to death, when y^e comissioners mett, they should have a fair hearing, and they would cause Uncass to returne y^e same. But notwithstanding, at y^e spring of y^e year they gathered a great power, and fell upon Uncass, and slue sundrie of his men, and wounded more, and also had some loss them selves. Uncass cald for aide from y^e English; they tould him what y^r Narigansets objected, he deny the same; they tould him it must come to triall, and if he was inocente, if y^e Narigansets would not desiste, they would aide & assiste him. So at this meeting they [263] sent both to Uncass & y^e Narrigansets, and required their sagamors to come or send to y^e comissioners now mete at Hartford, and they should have a faire & inpartiall hearing in all their greivances, and would endeavor y^t all wrongs should be rectified wher they should be found; and they promised that they should safly come and returne without any danger or molestation; and sundry y^e like things, as appears more at large in y^e messengers instructions.* Upon w^{ch} the Narigansets sent one sagamore and some other deputies, with full power to doe in y^e case as should be meete. Uncass came in person, accompanied with some cheefe aboute him. After the agitation of y^e bussines, y^e issue was this. The comissioners declared to y Narigansett deputies as followeth.

1. That they did not find any prooffe of any ransome agreed on.
2. It appeared not y^t any wampam had been paied as a ransome, or any parte of a ransome, for Myantinomos life.
3. That if they had in any measure proved their charge

* Which may be seen in Hazard, II. 14-16. — Ed.

against Uncass, the comissioners would have required him to have made answerable satisfaction.

4. That if hereafter they can make satisfying profe, y^e English will consider y^e same, & proceed accordingly.

5. The comissioners did require y^t neither them selves nor y^e Nyanticks make any warr or injurious assaulte upon Unquass or any of his company untill they make profe of y^e ran-some charged, and y^t due satisfaction be deneyed, unless he first assaulte them.

6. That if they assaulte Uncass, the English are engaged to assist him.

Hearupon y^e Narigansette sachim, advising with y^e other deputies, ingaged him selfe in the behalfe of y^e Narigansets & Nyanticks that no hostile acts should be comitted upon Uncass, or any of his, untill after y^e next planting of corne; and y^t after that, before they begine any warr, they will give 30. days warning to y^e Gove^r of the Massachusets or Conightecutt. The comissioners approving of this offer, and taking their ingagmente under their hands, required Uncass, as he expected y^e continuance of y^e favour of the English, to observe the same termes of peace with y^e Narigansets and theirs.

These foregoing conclusions were subscribed by y^e comissioners, for y^e severall jurisdictions, y^e 19. of Sept: 1644.

EDWA: HOPKINS, Presidente.

SIMON BRADSTREETE.

WILL^m. HATHORNE.

EDW: WINSLOW.

JOHN BROWNE.

GEOR: FENWICK.

THEOPH: EATON.

THO: GREGSON.

The forenamed Narigansets deputies did further promise, that if, contrary to this agreeamente, any of y^e Nyantick Pequents should make any assaulte upon Uncass, or any of his, they would deliver them up to y^e English, to be punished according to their demerits; and that they would not use any means to procure the Mowacks to come against Uncass during this truce.*

* This declaration and agreement may also be seen in Hazard, II. 25-27.
— Ed.

These were their names subscribed with their marks.

WEETOWISH.	CHINŃOUGH.
PAMPIAMETT.	PUMMUNISH.

[264] *Anno Dom: 1645.**

THE comissioners this year were caled to meete together at Boston, before their ordinarie time; partly in regard of some differances falen betweene y^e French and y^e govermente of y^e Massachusets, about their aiding of Munseire Latore against Munsseire de Aulney,† and partly aboute y^e Indeans, who had broaken y^e former agreements aboute the peace concluded y^e last year. This meeting was held at Boston, y^e 28. of July.

Besids some underhand assualts made on both sids, the Narigansets gathered a great power, and fell upon Uncass, and slew many of his men, and wounded more, by reason y^t they farr exseeded him in number, and had gott store of peeces, with which they did him most hurte. And as they did this withoute y^e knowledg and consente of y^e English, (contrary to former agreements,) so they were resolved to prosecute y^e same, notwithstanding any thing y^e English said or should doe against them. So, being encouraged by ther late victorie, and promise of assistance from y^e Mowaks, (being a strong, warlike, and desperate people,) they had allready devoured Uncass & his, in their hops; and surly they had done it in deed, if the English had not timly sett in for his aide. For those of Conigh-

* The Assistants this year were the same as those of last year, except that Winslow and Standish took the places of Bradford and Thomas; Bradford being again elected Governor. — Ed.

† The claims of these rivals of Acadie were for years a source of great annoyance to the Massachusetts government. Each solicited aid against the other. La Tour pretended to be a Huguenot, and some favor was probably shown to him for that reason. In 1643,

he was permitted to hire any ships in the harbor of Boston, or such persons as might be willing to accompany him; a proceeding considered impolitic by many in the colony. D'Aulney died before the year 1652, and La Tour married his widow. For the proceedings of the United Colonies at this session in reference to these claimants, see Hazard, II. 50-54. See also Winthrop and Hutchinson *passim*. — Ed.

tecute sent him 40. men, who were a garison to him, till y^e comissioners could meete and take further order.

Being thus mett, they forthwith sente 3. messengers, viz. Sargent John Davis, Benedicte Arnold, and Francis Smith, with full & ample instructions, both to y^e Narigansets and Uncass; to require them y^t they should either come in person or send sufficiente men fully instructed to deale in y^e bussines; and if they refused or delayed, to let them know (according to former agreements) y^t the English are engaged to assiste against these hostile invasions, and y^t they have sente their men to defend Uncass, and to know of y^e Narigansets whether they will stand to their former peace, or they will assaulte y^e English also, that they may provid accordingly.

But y^e messengers returned, not only with a sleighting, but a threatening answer from the Narigansets (as will more appear hereafter). Also they brought a letter from Mr. Roger Williams, wherein he assures them that y^e warr would presenly breake forth, & y^e whole country would be all of a flame. And y^t the sachems of y^e Narigansets had concluded a newtrality with y^e English of Providence and those of Aquidnett Iland. Wherupon y^e comissioners, considering y^e great danger & provocations offered, and y^e necessitie we should be put unto of making warr with y^e Narigansetts, and being also carfull, in a matter of so great waight & generall concernmente, to see y^e way cleared, and to give satisfaction to all y^e colonies, did thinke fitte to advise with such of y^e magistrats & elders of y^e Massachusetts as were then at hand, and also with some of y^e cheefe millitary comandars ther; who being assembled, it was then agreed, —

First, y^t our ingagmente bound us to aide & defend Uncass. 2. That this ayde could not be intended only to defend him & his forte, or habitation, but (according to y^e comone acceptation of such covenants, or ingagments, considered with y^e grounds or occasion therof) so to ayde

him as he might be preserved in his liberty and estate. 3^{ly}. That this ayde [265] must be speedy, least he might be swallowed up in y^e mean time, and so come to late. 4^{ly}. The justice of this warr being cleared to our selves and y^e rest then presente, it was thought meete y^t the case should be stated, and y^e reasons & grounds of y^e warr declared and published. 5^{ly}. That a day of humilliation should be apoynted, which was y^e 5. day of y^e weeke following. 6^{ly}. It was then allso agreed by y^e comissioners that y^e whole number of men to be raised in all y^e colonies should be 300. Wherof from y^e Massachusetts a 190. Plimoth, 40. Conightecute, 40. New-Haven, 30. And considering y^t Uncass was in present danger, 40. men of this number were forthwith sente from y^e Massachusetts for his sucoure; and it was but weede, for y^e other 40. from Conightecutt had order to stay but a month, & their time being out, they returned; and y^e Narigansets, hearing therof, tooke the advantage, and came suddanly upon him, and gave him another blow, to his further loss, and were ready to doe y^e like againe; but these 40. men being arrived, they returned, and did nothing.

The declaration which they sett forth I shall not transcribe, it being very larg, and put forth in printe, to which I referr those y^t would see y^e same, in which all passages are layed open from y^e first.* I shall only note their prowde carriage, and answers to y^e 3. messengers sent from y^e comissioners. They received them with scorne & contempte, and tould them they resolved to have no peace without Uncass his head; † also they gave them this further answer: that it mattered not who begane y^e warr, they were resolved to follow it, and that y^e English should withdraw their garison from Uncass, or they would procure y^e Mowakes against them; and withall gave them this threatening answer: that they would lay y^e

* This declaration is in Hazard, II. † See Hazard, II. 49. — ED.
45. — ED.

English cattle on heaps, as high as their houses, and y^e no English-man should sturr out of his dore to pisse, but he should be kild. And wheras they required guidis to pass throw their countrie, to deliver their message to Uncass from y^e comissioners, they deneyed them, but at length (in way of scorne) offered them an old Pequente woman. Besids allso they conceived them selves in danger, for whilst y^e interpretour was speakeing with them about y^e answer he should returne, 3. men came & stood behind him with ther hatchets, according to their murderous maner; but one of his fellows gave him notice of it, so they brook of & came away; with sundry such like affrontes, which made those Indeans they carryed with them to runc away for fear, and leave them to goe home as they could.

Thus whilst y^e comissioners in care of y^e publick peace sought to quench y^e fire kindled amongst y^e Indeans, these children of strife breath out threatenings, provocations, and warr against y^e English them selves. So that, unless they should dishonour & provoak God, by violating a just ingagmente, and expose y^e colonies to contempte & danger from y^e barbarians, they cannot but exerciese force, when no other means will prevaile to reduse y^e Narigansets & their confederats to a more just & sober temper.

So as here upon they went on to hasten y^e preparations, according to y^e former agreemente, and sent to Plimoth to send forth their 40. men with all speed, to lye at Seacunke, least any deanger should befall it, before y^e rest were ready, it lying next y^eemie, and ther to stay till y^e Massachusetts should joyne with them. Allso Conigtecute & Newhaven forces were to joyne together, and march with all speed, and y^e Indean confederats of those parts with them. All which was done accordingly; and the souldiers of this place were at Seacunk, the place of their rendevouze, 8. or 10. days before y^e rest were ready; they were well armed all with snaphance peeces, and

wente under y^e camand of Captain [266] Standish. Those from other places were led likewise by able comanders,* as Captaine Mason for Conigtecute, &c. ; and Majore Gibbons was made generall over y^e whole, with such comissions & instructions as was meete.

Upon y^e suden dispatch of these souldiears, (the present necessitie requiring it,) the deputies of y^e Massachusetts Courte (being now assembled immediately after y^e setting forth of their 40. men) made a question whether it was legally done, without their comission. It was answered, that howsoever it did properly belong to y^e authority of y^e severall jurisdictions (after y^e warr was agreed upon by y^e comissioners, & the number of men) to provid y^e men & means to carry on y^e warr ; yet in this presente case, the proceeding of y^e comissioners and y^e comission given was as sufficiente as if it had been done by y^e Generall Courte.

First, it was a case of such presente & urgente necessitie, as could not stay y^e calling of y^e Courte or Counsell. 2^y. In y^e Articles of Confederation, power is given to y^e comissioners to consult, order, & determine all affaires of warr, &c. And y^e word *determine* comprehends all acts of authority belonging therunto.

3^y. The comissioners are y^e [sole] judges of y^e necessitie of the expedition.

4^y. The Generall Courte have made their owne comissioners their sole counsell for these affaires.

5^y. These counsels could not have had their due effecte excepte they had power to proceede in this case, as they have done ; which were to make y^e comissioners power, and y^e maine end of y^e confederation, to be frustrate, and that nearly for observing a ceremony.

6^y. The comissioners haveing sole power to manage y^e warr for number of men, for time, place, &c., they only know their owne counsells, & *determinations*, and therfore none can grante comission to acte according to these but them selves.†

* Comander in the MS. — Ed. after them, or any confirmation of that

† “ 7. To send a new commission which they have, would cast blame

All things being thus in readines, and some of y^e souldiers gone forth, and the rest ready to march, the comissioners thought it meete before any hostile acte was performed, to cause a presente to be returned, which had been sente to y^e Gove^r of the Massachusetts from y^e Narigansett sachems, but not by him received, but layed up to be accepted or refused as they should carry them selves, and observe y^e covenants. Therfore they violating the same, & standing out thus to a warr, it was againe returned, by 2. messengers & an interpretour. And further to let know that their men already sent to Uncass (& other wher sent forth) have hitherto had éxpress order only to stand upon his & their owne defence, and not to attempte any invasion of y^e Narigansetts country; and yet if they may have due reparation for what is past, and good securitie for y^e future, it shall appear they are as desirous of peace, and shall be as tender of y^e Narigansets blood as ever. If therefore Pessecuss, Innemo, with other sachemes, will (without further delay) come along with you to Boston, the comissioners doe promise & assure them, they shall have free liberty to come, and retourne without molestation or any just greevance from y^e English. But deputies will not now serve, nor may the preparations in hand be now stayed, or y^e directions given recalled, till y^e forementioned sagamors come, and some further order be taken. But if they will have nothing but warr, the English are providing, and will procede accordingly.

Pessecouss, Mixano, & Witowash, 3. principall sachems of y^e Narigansett Indcans, and Awasequen, deputie for y^e

upon the commissioners, and would weaken their power as if they had proceeded unwarrantably.

“After much agitation and long time spent herein, it was at last agreed that the Court would allow the proceedings of the commissioners in this case for the

matter thereof, but they would reserve the manner of proceedings as to their own commissioners to further consideration, and so go on to expedite the present business propounded to them by the commissioners.” Hazard, II. 32. — Ed.

Nyanticks, with a large traine of men, within a few days after came to Boston.

And to omitte all other circomstances and debats y^t past betweene them and the comissioners, they came to this conclusion following.

[267] 1. It was agreed betwixte y^e comissioners of y^e United Collonies, and y^e forementioned sagamores, & Niantick deputie, that y^e said Narigansets & Niantick sagamores should pay or cause to be payed at Boston, to y^e Massachusets comissioners, y^e full sune of 2000. fathome of good white wampame, or a third parte of [good] black wampampeage, in 4. payments; namely, 500. fathome within 20. days, 500. fathome within 4. months, 500. fathome at or before next planting time, and 500. fathome within 2. years next after y^e date of these presents; which 2000. fathome y^e comissioners accepte for satisfaction of former charges expended.

2. The foresaid sagamors & deputie (on y^e behalfe of y^e Narigansett & Niantick Indeans) hereby promise & covenante that they [will] upon demand and profe satisfie & restore unto Uncass, y^e Mohigan sagamore, all such captives, whether men, or women, or children, and all such canowes, as they or any of their men have taken, or as many of their owne canowes in y^e roome of them, full as good as they were, with full satisfaction for all such corne as they or any of their men have spoyled or destroyed, of his or his mens, since last planting time; and y^e English comissioners hereby promise y^t Uncass shall doe y^e like.

3. Wheras ther are sundry differences & greivances betwixte Narigansett & Niantick Indeans, and Uncass his men, (which in Uncass his absence cannot now be detirmined,) it is hearby agreed y^t Nariganset & Niantick sagamores either come them selves, or send their deputies to y^e next meeting of y^e comissioners for y^e collonies, either at New-Haven in Sep^r 1646. or sooner (upon conveniente warning, if y^e said comissioners doe meete sooner), fully instructed to declare & make due profe of their injuries, and to submite to y^e judgmente of y^e comissioners, in giving or receiving satisfaction; and y^e said comissioners (not doubting but Uncass will either come him selfe, or send his deputies, in like maner furnished) promising to give a full hearing to both parties with equall justice, without any partiall respects, according to their allegations and profs.

4. The said Narigansett & Niantick sagamors & deputies doe hearby promise & covenante to keep and maintaine a firme & perpetuall peace, both with all y^e English United Colonies & their successors, and with Uncass, y^e Monhegen sachem, & his men; with Ossamequine, Pumham, Sokanoke, Cutshamakin, Shoanan, Passaconaway, and all other Indean sagamors, and their companies, who are in freindship with or subjecte to any of y^e English; hearby ingaging them selves, that they will not at any time hereafter disturbe y^e peace of y^e cuntry, by any assaults, hostile attempts, invasions, or other injuries, to any of y^e Unnited Collonies, or their successors; or to y^e afforesaid Indians; either in their persons, buildings, catle, or goods, directly or indirectly; nor will they confederate with any other against them; & if they know of any Indians or others y^t conspire or intend hurt [either] against y^e said English, or any Indians subjecte to or in freindship with them, they will without delay acquainte & give notice therof to y^e English comissioners, or some of them.

Or if any questions or differences shall at any time hereafter arise or grow betwext them & Uncass, or any Endians before mentioned, they will, according to former ingagments (which they hearby confirme & ratifie) first acquainte y^e English, and crave their judgments & advice therin; and will not attempte or begine any warr, or hostile invasion, till they have liberty and alowance from y^e comissioners of y^e United Collonies so to doe.

5. The said Narigansetts & Niantick sagamores & deputies doe hearby promise y^t they will forthwth deliver & restore all such Indean fugitives, or captives which have at any time fled from any of y^e English, and are now living or abiding amongst them, or give due satisfaction for them to y^e comissioners for y^e Massachusetts; and further, that they will (without more delays) pay, or cause to be payed, a yearly tribute, a month before [Indian] harvest, every year after this, at Boston, to y^e English Colonies, for all such Pequents as live amongst them, according to y^e former treaty & agremente, made at Hartford, 1633. namly, one fathome of white wampam for every Pequente man, & halfe a fathome for each Pequente youth, and one hand length for each mal-child. And if Weequashcooke refuse to pay this tribute for any Pequents with him, the Narigansetts sagamores promise to assiste y^e English against him. And they further

covenante y^t they will resigne & yeeld up the whole Pequente cuntrie, and every parte of it, to y^e English collonies, as due to them by conquest.

6. The said Narigansett & Niantick sagamores & deputie doe hereby promise & covenante y^t within 14. days they will bring & deliver to y^e Massachusetts comissioners on y^e behalfe of [all] y^e collonies, [268] foure of their children, viz. Pessecous his eldest son, the sonie Tassaquanawite, brother to Pessecouss, Awashawe his sone, and Ewangsos sone, a Niantick, to be kepte (as hostages & pledges) by y^e English, till both y^e forementioned 2000. fathome of wampam be payed at y^e times appoynted, and y^e differences betweexte themselves & Uncass be heard & ordered, and till these artickles be under writen at Boston, by Jenemo & Wipetock. And further they hereby promise & covenante, y^t if at any time hereafter any of y^e said children shall make escape, or be conveyed away from y^e English, before y^e premisses be fully accomplished, they will either bring back & deliver to y^e Massachusett comissioners y^e same children, or, if they be not to be founde, such & so many other children, to be chosen by y^e comissioners for y^e United Collonies, or their assignes, and y^t within 20. days after demand, and in y^e mean time, untill y^e said 4. children be delivered as hostages, y^e Narigansett & Niantick sagamors & deputy doe, freely & of their owne accorde, leave with y^e Massachusett comissioners, as pledges for presente securitie, 4. Indeans, namely, Witowash, Pumanise, Jawashoe, Waughwamino, who also freely consente, and offer them selves to stay as pledges, till y^e said children be brought & delivered as abovesaid.

7. The comissioners for y^e United Collonies doe hereby promise & agree that, at y^e charge of y^e United Collonies, y^e 4. Indeans now left as pledges shall be provided for, and y^t the 4. children to be brought & delivered as hostages shall be kepte & maintained at y^e same charge; that they will require Uncass & his men, with all other Indean sagamors before named, to forbear all acts of hostilitie againste y^e Narigansetts and Niantick Indeans for y^e future. And further, all y^e promises being duly observed & kept by y^e Narigansett & Niantick Indians and their company, they will at y^e end of 2. years restore y^e said children delivered as hostiages, and retaine a firme peace with y^e Narigansets & Nianticke Indeans and their successors.

8. It is fully agreed by & betwixte y^e said parties, y^t if any

hostile attempte be made while this treaty is in hand, or before notice of this agreemente (to stay further preparations & directions) can be given, such attempts & y^e consequents therof shall on neither parte be accounted a violation of this treaty, nor a breach of y^e peace hear made & concluded.

9. The Narigansets & Niantick sagamors & deputie hereby agree & covenante to & with y^e comissioners of y^e United. Colonies, y^t henceforth they will neither give, grante, sell, or in any maner alienate, any parte of their countrie, nor any parcell of land therin, either to any of y^e English or others, without consente or allowance of y^e comissioners.

10. Lastly, they promise that, if any Pequente or other be found & discovered amongst them who hath in time of peace murdered any of y^e English, he or they shall be delivered to just punishmente.

In witness wherof y^e parties above named have interchaingable subscribed these presents, the day & year above written.

JOHN WINTHROP, President.

HERBERT PELHAM.

THO: PRENCE.


JOHN BROWNE.


GEO: FENWICK.


EDWA: HOPKINS.


THEOPH: EATON.


STEVEN GOODYEARE.

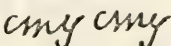
PESSECOUSS his mark 


MEEKESANO his mark 

WITOWASH his mark 

AUMSEQUEN his mark  the Niantick deputy.

ABDAS his mark 

PUMMASH his mark 

CUTCHAMAKIN his mark 

This treaty and agreemente betwixte the comissioners of y^e United Collonies and y^e sagamores and deputy of Narrigansets

and Niantick Indians was made and concluded, Benedicte Arnold being interpretour upon his oath; Sergante Callicate & an Indian, his man, being presente, and Josias & Cutshamakin, tow Indians acquainted with y^e English language, assisting therin; who opened & cleared the whole treaty, & every article, to y^e sagamores and deputie there presente.*

And thus was y^e warr at this time stayed and prevented.

[269] *Anno Dom: 1646.*

ABOUT y^e midle of May, this year, came in 3. ships into this harbor, in warlike order; they were found to be men of warr. The captains name was Crumwell, who had taken sundrie prizes from y^e Spaniards in y^e West Indies. He had a comission from y^e Earle of Warwick. He had aboard his vessels aboute 80. lustie men, (but very unruly,) who, after they came ashore, did so distemper them selves with drinke as they became like madd-men; and though some of them were punished & imprisoned, yet could they hardly be restrained; yet in y^e ende they became more moderate & orderly. They continued here aboute a month or 6. weeks, and then went to y^e Massachusetts; in which time they spente and scattered a great deale of money among y^e people, and yet more sine (I fear) then money, notwithstanding all y^e care & watchfullnes that was used towards them, to prevente what might be.

In which time one sadd accidente fell out. A desperate fellow of y^e company fell a quarling with some of his company. His captaine comanded him to be quiet & surcease his quarelling; but he would not, but reviled his captaine with base language, & in y^e end halfe drew his rapier, & intended to rune at his captien; but he closed with him, and wrasted his rapier from him, and gave him a boxe on y^e earr; but he would not give over, but still

* See Hazard, II. 41-44. — Ed.

assaulted his captaine. Wherupon he tooke y^e same rapier as it was in y^e scaberd, and gave him a blow with y^e hilts; but it light on his head, & y^e smal end of y^e bar of y^e rapier hilts peiret his scull, & he dyed a few days after. But y^e captaine was cleared by a counsell of warr. This fellow was so desperate a quareller as y^e captaine was faine many times to chaine him under hatches from hurting his fellows, as y^e company did testifie; and this was his end.*

This Captaine Thomas Cormuell sett forth another vorage to the Westindeas, from the Bay of the Massachusets, well maned & victuled; and was out 3. years, and tooke sundry prises, and returned rich unto the Massachusets, and ther dyed the same somere, having gott a fall from his horse, in which fall he fell on his rapeir hilts, and so brused his body as he shortly after dyed therof, with some other distempers, which brought him into a feavor. Some observed that ther might be somthing of the hand of God herein; that as the forenamed man dyed of y^e blow he gave him with y^e rapeir hilts, so his owne death was occasioned by a like means.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow went into England, upon this occation:† some discontented persons under y^e

* "One Captain Cromwell, about ten years since a common seaman in the Massachusets," says Winthrop, II. 263, "had been out with Captain Jackson in a man of war, by commission from the Earl of Warwick, divers years, and, having a commission of deputation from his said captain, had taken four or five Spanish vessels, and in some of them great riches; and being bound hither with three ships and about eighty men, (they were frigates of cedar-wood, of about sixty and eighty tons,) by a strong northwest wind they were forced into Plymouth, Divine Providence so directing for the comfort and help of that town, which was now almost deserted, where they continued about fourteen days or more, and spent liberally and gave freely to many of

the poorer sort. It fell out, while they were there, that a desperate drunken fellow, one Voysye, who had been in continual quarrels all the voyage, on being reproved by his captain, offered to draw his rapier at him," &c., &c. The narrative proceeds to detail the circumstances of the death of this man at Plymouth, and of the trial of the captain by a council of war, which acquitted him. — Ed.

† The Massachusetts government in November of this year made choice of Mr. Winslow, "as a fit man to be employed in our present affairs in England, both in regard of his abilities of presence, speech, courage, and understanding, as also being well known to the commissioners," &c. Winthrop, II. 253. He sailed from Boston about the

gouvernente of the Massachusets sought to trouble their peace, and disturbe, if not innovate, their gouvernente, by laying many [270] scandals upon them; and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning &

middle of December. The purpose of his mission was to answer the complaints made to the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations by Robert Child and others, who claimed that many persons in that colony were denied the privileges of civil and religious liberty; and also to reply to the charges made by Gorton and his associates, who complained of severe treatment from that government, by imprisonment and expulsion from their lands at Shawomet. On arriving in London, Winslow found that Gorton, who went to England two years before, had published an account of the proceedings against himself and others in New England, under the title of "Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy," &c., &c., London, 1646. To this he published a reply, entitled "Hypocricie Unmasked," &c., bearing the same date as the above. The next year appeared a tract bearing the name of Major John Child, brother of the Robert Child above named, entitled "New England's Jonah cast up in London, or a Relation of the Proceedings of the Court at Boston in New England against divers honest and godly Persons," &c., in the Postscript to which is a notice of Winslow's book just named. Winslow answered this the same year, under the title of "New-England's Salamander, discovered by an irreligious and scornful Pamphlet," &c. Hutchinson says (l. 149, 1st ed.) that Winslow, "by his prudent management, and the credit and esteem he was in with many of the members of Parliament and principal persons then in power, prevented any prejudice to the colony from either of these applications." Gorton and his associates, however, were reinstated in their possessions at Shawomet. A full account of these controversies, which are not unimportant incidents in the early history of Massachusetts, will be found in Winthrop, and in the tracts above cited.

In the Appendix to "Hypocricie Unmasked," Winslow gives "A Brief Narration of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New England"; being a reply to Robert Baylie's "Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time," published in 1645. This contains the original of the celebrated "farewell discourse" of Robinson, alluded to on page 59. Winslow does not call it a discourse or sermon, but says, "At their departure from him [Robinson] to begin the great work of plantation in New England, among other wholesome instructions and exhortations, he used these expressions, or to the same purpose." See Young, pp. 378-408.

While in England, Winslow employed his interest successfully with the members of Parliament and others of quality and wealth for the erection of a corporation for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England. The Act creating this society bears date July 27, 1649. The same year he published a tract entitled "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England," containing letters of Eliot and Mayhew.

In 1654, Winslow was appointed one of three commissioners to determine the value of the English ships seized and destroyed by the king of Denmark, and his original commission from the Protector is now at Plymouth; it is published in Thatcher's History, pp. 99-103. In 1655, he accompanied the expedition under Admiral Penn and General Venable against Hispaniola, as the chief of three commissioners. In their attack on St. Domingo they were defeated with great loss. On the passage between that place and Jamaica Winslow fell sick, "and died the eighth day of May, which was about the sixty-first year of his life." See p. 111; Davis's ed. of the Memorial, pp. 259-261; Hazard, II. 145-150; Belknap, II. 281-309; Drake's Boston, pp. 316, 317.—ED.

complaining to the Parlemeute. Allso Samuell Gorton* & his company made complaints against them; so as they made choyse of M^r. Winslow to be their agente, to make their defence, and gave him comission & instructions for that end; in which he so carried him selfe as did well answer their ends, and cleared them from any blame or dishonour, to the shame of their adversaries. But by reason of the great alterations in the State, he was detained longer then was expected; and afterwards fell into other imployments their, so as he hath now bene absente this 4. years,† which hath been much to the weakning of this govermente, without whose consente he tooke these imployments upon him.

Anno 1647. And Anno 1648.

* Our author has not honored this individual with any further notice. He resided at Plymouth for a time, and in 1638 was banished from that jurisdiction. Morton devotes a few pages to him in the Memorial. See Memoirs of him in Sparks's American Biography, Vol. V., N. S., and in New England Hist. and Geneal. Register, Vol. IV. — Ed.

† This indicates the year in which our author is now writing, namely, 1650. On page 6, he tells us that he began this History "about the year 1630, and so pieced up at times of leisure afterward." That he intended a continuation of these annals is evident from the heading of the years 1647 and 1648. — Ed.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

[PASSENGERS OF THE MAYFLOWER.*]

The names of those which came over first, in y^e year 1620. and were by the blessing of God the first beginners and (in a sort) the foundation of all the Plantations and Colonies in New-England; and their families.

8. Mr. John Carver; Kathrine, his wife; Desire Minter; & 2. man-servants, John Howland, Roger Wilder; William Latham, a boy; & a maid servant, & a child y^t was put to him, called Jasper More.

6. Mr. William Brewster; Mary, his wife; with 2. sons, whose names were Love & Wrasling; and a boy was put to him called Richard More; and another of his brothers. The rest of his children were left behind, & came over afterwards.

5. Mr. Edward Winslow; Elizabeth, his wife; & 2. men servants, caled Georg Sowle and Elias Story; also a litle girle was put to him, caled Ellen, the sister of Richard More.

* To the genealogist, the value of this list of passengers of the Mayflower, preserved by Governor Bradford at the end of his History, cannot be over-estimated. Prince made but a partial use of this interesting record. Taking the list of signers to the compact, in the order in which the names appear in the Memorial, he has given the *number* of which each family was composed, without always indicating the individuals who make up that number. Resort has

therefore been had, hitherto, to other sources for information, and much has been left to conjecture. No perfect list has ever been made out. Two names in this record (Trevore and Ely) do not appear in Morton's list of signers. They are not included in any of the families, and appear to have been overlooked by Prince in estimating the number of passengers. See pp. 77, 90; Prince, 1. 85, 86. — Ed.

2. William Bradford, and Dorothy, his wife; having but one child, a sone, left behind, who came afterward.

6. Mr. Isaack Allerton, and Mary, his wife; with 3. children, Bartholmew, Remember, & Mary; and a servant boy, John Hooke.

2. Mr. Samucl Fuller, and a servant, caled William Batten. His wife was behind, & a child, which came afterwards.

2. John Crakston, and his sone, John Crakston.

2. Captin Myles Standish, and Rose, his wife. .

4. Mr. Christopher Martin, and his wife, and 2. servants, Salomon Prower* and John Langemore.

5. Mr. William Mullines, and his wife, and 2. children, Joseph & Priscila; and a servant, Robart Carter.

6. Mr. William White, and Susana, his wife, and one sone, caled Resolved, and one borne a ship-bord, caled Peregriene; † & 2. servants, named William Holbeck & Edward Thomson.

8. Mr. Steven Hopkins, & Elizabeth, his wife, and 2. children, caled Giles, and Constanta, a doughter, both by a former wife; and 2. more by this wife, caled Damaris & Oceanus; ‡ the last was borne at sea; and 2. servants, called Edward Doty and Edward Litster.

1. Mr. Richard Warren; but his wife and children were lefte behind, and came afterwards.

* Prince, I. 80, under date of December 24, records, from Bradford's pocket-book, the death of Solomon Martin, being the sixth and last who died that month. As no such name appears in this list of passengers, we must suppose this person is there intended. The name of the master being given to the servant. — Ed.

† Peregrine White was born after

their arrival at Cape Cod, and therefore should not be included in the number of passengers. — Ed.

‡ Oceanus is included in the list of passengers, and so also is William Batten, the servant of Samuel Fuller, who died before the arrival at Cape Cod. Only one of these should be enumerated. See pp. 76, 77. — Ed.

4. John Billinton, and Elen, his wife; and 2. sones, John & Francis.

4. Edward Tillie, and Ann, his wife; and 2. children that were their cossens, Henery Samson and Humillity Coper.

3. John Tillie, and his wife; and Eelizabeth, their doughter.

2. Francis Cooke, and his sone John. But his wife & other children came afterwards.

2. Thomas Rogers, and Joseph, his sone. His other children came afterwards.

3. Thomas Tinker, and his wife, and a sone.

2. John Rigdale, and Alice, his wife.

3. James Chilton, and his wife, and Mary, their doughter. They had an other doughter, y^t was married, came after ward.

3. Edward Fuller, and his wife, and Samuell, their sonne.

3. John Turner, and 2. sones. He had a doughter came some years after to Salem, wher she is now living.

3. Francis Eaton, and Sarah, his wife, and Samuell, their sone, a yong child.

10. Moyses Fletcher, John Goodman, Thomas Williams, Digerie Preist, Edmond Margeson, Peter Browne, Richard Britterige, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardenar, Gilbert Winslow.

1. John Alden was hired for a cooper, at South-Hampton, wher the ship victuled; and being a hopfull yong man, was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go or stay when he came here; but he stayed, and maryed here.

2. John Allerton and Thomas Enlish were both hired, the later to goe m^r of a shalop here, and y^e other was reputed as one of y^e company, but was to go back (being a seaman)

for the help of others behind. But they both dyed here, before the shipe returned.

- There were also other 2. seamen hired to stay a year
2. here in the country, William Trevore,* and one Ely. But when their time was out, they both returned.†

These, bening aboute a hundred sowls,‡ came over in this first ship; and began this worke, which God of his goodnes hath hithertoo blessed; let his holy name have y^e praise.

And seeing it hath pleased him to give me to see 30. years compleated since these beginings; and that the great works of his providence are to be observed, I have thought it not unworthy my paines to take a veiw of the decreasings & increasings of these persons, and such changs as hath pased over them & theirs, in this thirty years. It may be of some use to such as come after; but, however, I shall rest in my owne benefite.

I will therfore take them in order as they lye.

Mr. Carver and his wife dyed the first year; he in y^e spring, she in y^e so^mer; also, his man Roger and y^e litle boy Jasper dyed before either of them, of y^e commone infection. Desire Minter returned to her freinds, & proved not very well, and dyed in England. His servant boy Latham, after more then 20. years stay in the country, went into England, and from thence to the Bahamy Ilands in y^e West Indies, and ther, with some others, was starved for want of food. His maid servant married, & dyed a year or tow after, here in this place.

- His servant, John Howland, married the daughter of John Tillie, Elizabeth, and they are both now living, and have
15. 10. children, now all living; and their eldest daughter hath
4. children. And ther 2. daughter, 1. all living; and other
of their children mariagable. So 15. are come of them.

* See pages 122, 209. — Ed.

† See page 77. — Ed.

‡ This list adds up 101, but Peregrine White and William Batten or Oceanus

Hopkins should be deducted, which will leave the true number of passengers 102. See page 77. — Ed.

- Mr. Brewster lived to very old age; about 80. years he was when he dyed, having lived some 23. or 24. years here in y^e countrie; & though his wife dyed long before, yet she dyed aged. His sone Wrastle dyed a yonge man unmarried;
4. his sone Love lived till this year 1650. and dyed, & left 4. children, now living. His daughters which came over after him are dead, but have left sundry children alive; his eldst sone is still liveing, and hath 9. or 10. children; one
 2. married, who hath a child or 2.
 4. Richard More his brother dyed the first winter; but he is married, and hath 4. or 5. children, all living.

- Mr. Ed: Winslow his wife dyed the first winter; and he
2. married with the widow of Mr. White, and hath 2. children living by her marigable, besides sundry that are dead.

- One of his servants dyed, as also the litle girle, soone
8. after the ships arivall. But his man, Georg Sowle, is still living, and hath 8. childrē.

- * William Bradford his wife dyed soon^e after their arivall; and he married againe; † and hath 4. children, 3. wherof are
4. married.

- Mr. Allerton his wife dyed with the first, and his servant, John Hooke. His sone Barth is married in England, but I know not how many children he hath. His daughter Remember is married at Salem, & hath 3. or 4. children living. And his daughter Mary is married here, & hath 4.
8. children. Him selfe married againe with y^e daughter of Mr. Brewster, & hath one sone living by her, but she is long since dead. And he is married againe, and hath left this place long agoe. So I account his increase to be 8. besides his sons in England.

- Mr. Fuller his servant dyed at sea; and after his wife
2. came over, he had tow children by her, which are living and growne up to years; but he dyed some 15. years agoe.‡

* Who dyed 9th of May, 1656. — of Bradford is antedated one year. — Ed.

The transcriber has put the name of Prince to this note; but the death † See pages 71, 142, 461. — Ed.

‡ See page 314. — Ed.

John Crakston dyed in the first mortality; and about some 5. or 6. years after, his sone dyed; having lost him selfe in y^e wodes, his feet became frosen, which put him into a feavor, of which he dyed.

- * Captain Standish his wife dyed in the first sicknes, and
4. he married againe, and hath 4. sones liveing, and some *are dead*.

Mr. Martin, he & all his, dyed in the first infection not long after the arrivall.

- Mr. Molines, and his wife, his sone, and his servant, dyed the first winter. Only his dougter Priscila survied, and
15. married with John Alden, who are both living, and have 11. children. And their eldest daughter is married, & hath five children.†

- Mr. White and his 2. servants dyed soone after ther landing. His wife married with Mr. Winslow (as is before
7. noted). His 2. sons are married, and Resolved hath 5. children, Perigrine tow, all living. So their increase are 7.

- Mr. Hopkins and his wife are now both dead, but they lived above 20. years in this place, and had one sone and
4. daughters borne here. Ther sone became a seaman, &
5. dyed at Barbadoes; one daughter dyed here, and 2. are married; one of them hath 2. children; & one is yet to mary. So their increase which still survive are 5. But his
4. sone Giles is married, and hath 4. children.

- His daughter Constanta is also married, and hath 12.
12. children, all of them living, and one of them married.

* Who dyed 3. of Octob. 1655.
[If this note is by Bradford, it is not written in his usual hand, and was penned subsequently to the text. Prince has the following manuscript note in his own copy of the Memorial, under this year: "In the list at the e[nd] of Governor Bradford[s] MS. folio 'tis writ that Captain Standish died October 3,

1655. But his son William's Table Book says October 3, 1656; and Captain Standish being chosen Assistant in 1656 shows that his death must [have taken place after 1655]." The part in brackets is trimmed off, and is supplied by conjecture. — Ed.]

† See N. E. Memorial, p. 22. — Prince.

- Mr. Richard Warren lived some 4. or 5. years,* and had his wife come over to him, by whom he had 2. sons before he dyed; and one of them is maryed, and hath 2. children.
4. So his increase is 4. But he had 5. doughters more came over with his wife, who are all married, & living, & have many children.

- John Billinton, after he had bene here 10. yers, was executed for killing a man; and his eldest sone dyed before him; but his 2. sone is alive, and married, & hath 8. children.

- Edward Tillie and his wife both dyed soon after their arivall; and the girle Humility, their cousen, was sent for into England, and dyed ther. But the youth Henery Samson is still liveing, and is married, & hath 7. children.

John Tillie and his wife both dyed a litle after they came ashore; and their daughter Elizabeth married with John Howland, and hath issue as is before noted.

- Francis Cooke † is still living, a very olde man, and hath seene his childrens children have children; after his wife came over, (with other of his children,) he hath 3. still living by her, all married, and have 5. children; so their encrease is 8. And his sone John, which came over with
4. him, is married, and hath 4. children living.

- Thomas Rogers dyed in the first sicknes, but his sone Joseph is still living, and is married, and hath 6. children.
6. The rest of Thomas Rogers [children] came over, & are married, & have many children.

Thomas Tinker and his wife and sone all dyed in the first sicknes.

And so did John Rigdale and his wife.

James Chilton and his wife also dyed in the first infec-

* See page 245. — Ed.

† Died the 7th of April, 1663, above 80. — *Prince*.

10. tion. But their daughter Mary is still living, and hath 9. children; and one daughter is married, & hath a child; so their increase is 10.

4. Edward Fuller and his wife dyed soon after they came ashore; but their sone Samuell is living, & married, and hath 4. children or more.

John Turner and his 2. sones all dyed in the first siknes. But he hath a daughter still living at Salem, well married, and approved of.

4. Francis Eaton his first wife dyed in the generall sicknes; and he married againe, & his 2. wife dyed, & he married the 3. and had by her 3. children. One of them is married, & hath a child; the other are living, but one of them is an ideote. He dyed about 16. years agoe. His sone Samuell, who
1. came over a sucking child, is allso married, & hath a child.

Moyses Fletcher, Thomas Williams, Digerie Preist, John Goodman, Edmond Margeson, Richard Britteridge, Richard Clarke. All these dyed sone after their arivall, in the generall sicknes that befell. But Digerie Preist had his wife & children sent hither afterwards, she being Mr. Allertons sister. But the rest left no posteritie here.

Richard Gardinar became a seaman, and dyed in England, or at sea.

. Gilbert Winslow, after diverse years aboard here, returned into England, and dyed ther.

6. Peter Browne married twice. By his first wife he had 2. children, who are living, & both of them married, and the one of them hath 2. children; by his second wife he had 2. more. He dyed about 16. years since.

Thomas English and John Allerton dyed in the generall siknes.

John Alden married with Priscila, Mr. Mollines his daughter, and had issue by her as is before related.

7. Edward Doty & Edward Litster, the servants of Mr. Hopkins. Litster, after he was at liberty, went to Virginia, & ther dyed. But Edward Doty by a second wife hath 7. children, and both he and they are living.

Of these 100. persons which came first over in this first ship together, the greater halfe dyed in the generall mortality; and most of them in 2. or three monthes time.* And for those which survied, though some were ancient & past procreation, & others left y^e place and cuntrie, yet of those few remaining are sprunge up above 160. persons, in this 30. years, and are now living in this presente year, 1650. besids many of their children which are dead, and come not within this account.

And of the old stock (of one & other) ther are yet living this present year, 1650. nere 30. persons. Let y^e Lord have y^e praise, who is the High Preserver of men.

† Twelwe persons liveing of the ~~old~~ stock this present yeare, 1679.

Two persons liveing that came over in the first shipe 1620, this present yeare, 1690. Resolved White and Mary Cushman,‡ the daughter of Mr. Allerton.

And John Cooke, the son of Frances Cooke, that came in the first ship, is still liveing this present yeare, 1694; & Mary Cushman is still living, this present year, 1698.

* It appears, on an examination of this list, that, of the 102 passengers of the Mayflower who arrived at Cape Cod, 51 died within a few months. This number includes Mrs. Carver, who died in the early part of the summer, "with-in five or six weeks" after her husband, who died in April. The name of John

Goodman, which is in this list of early deaths, appears also among those who shared in the division of land in 1623-4. An error therefore exists either in this list or in the Colony Records. — Ed.

† The following memoranda are in a later hand. — Ed.

‡ *Cushman* in the manuscript. — Ed.

No. II.

[COMMISSION FOR REGULATING PLANTATIONS.]

Charles by y^e grace of God king of England, Scotland, France,
and Ireland, Defender of y^e Faith, &c.*

To the most Reve^d father in Christ, our wellbeloved & faithfull counsellour, William, by devine providence Archbishop of Counterbery, of all England Primate & Metropolitan; Thomas Lord Coventry, Keeper of our Great Seale of England; the most Reverente father in Christ our wellbeloved and most faithful Counselour, Richard, by devine providence Archbishop of Yorke, Primate & Metropolitan; our wellbeloved and most faithfull coussens & Counselours, Richard, Earle of Portland, our High Treasurer of England; Henery, Earle of Manchester, Keeper of our Privie Seale; Thomas, Earle of Arundalle & Surry, Earle Marshall of England; Edward, Earle of Dorsett, Chamberline of our most dear consorte, the Queene; and our beloved & faithfull Counselours, Francis Lord Cottington, Counselor,† and Undertreasourour of our Eschequour; S^r: Thomas Edmonds, knight, Treasurer of our houshold; S^r: Henery Vane,

* See page 320. This document was written on the reverse of folio 201 et seq. of the original manuscript, and for the sake of convenience is transferred to this place. A copy of this Commission is in Hubbard, pp. 264-268, and Harris, in a note on page 698 of the new edition of that volume, expresses the opinion that this author copied it from the Plymouth Church Records, where it was recorded by Secretary Morton. Harris evidently never compared the two copies. Though generally agreeing in substance, there is such a want of identity in the language as to indicate two distinct copies. Morton copied from Bradford. Hutchinson, I. Appendix 4, copied from Hubbard.

A copy, in Latin, is in Hazard, I. 344-347, taken from Pownall's Administration of the Colonies. This may be the original, of which the other two are distinct translations. There is a little discrepancy in the copies, as to the names of the dignitaries to whom this Commission is addressed. Pownall includes the name of the Bishop of London, which Bradford does not, and the latter introduces the Earl of Portland, who is not embraced in Pownall's list. Hubbard's list corresponds with Bradford's, with the exception that the name of Sir Henry Vane is omitted. See Harris's critical note above referred to. — Ed.

† Chancellor? — Ed.

Knight, controulor of y^e same houshould; S^r: John Cooke, Knight, one of our Privie Secretaries; and Francis Windebanck, Knight, another of our Privie Secretaries, Greeting.

Wheras very many of our subjects, & of our late fathers of beloved memory, our sovereigne lord James, late king of England, by means of licence royall, not only with desire of enlarging y^e territories of our empire, but cheefly out of a pious & religious affection, & desire of propagating y^e gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ, with great industrie & expences have caused to be planted large Collonies of y^e English nation, in diverse parts of y^e world alltogether unmanured, and voyd of inhabitants, or occupied of y^e barbarous people that have no knowledge of divine worship. We being willing to provid a remedy for y^e tranquillity & quietnes of those people, and being very confidente of your faith & wisdom, justice & providente circumspection, have constituted you y^e aforesaid Archbishop of Counterburie, Lord Keeper of y^e Great Scale of England, y^e Archbishop of Yorke, &c. and any 5. or more, of you, our Comissioners; and to you, and any 5. or more of you, we doe give and comite power for y^e govermente & saftie of y^e said collonies, drawen, or which, out of y^e English nation into those parts hereafter, shall be drawne, to make lawes, constitutions, & ordinances, pertaining ether to y^e publick state of these collonies, or y^e private profite of them; and concerning y^e lands, goods, debts, & succession in those parts, and how they shall demaine themselves, towards foraigne princes, and their people, or how they shall bear them selves towards us, and our subjects, as well in any foraine parts whatsoever, or on y^e seas in those parts, or in their returne sayling home; or which may pertaine to y^e clergie govermente, or to y^e cure of soules, among y^e people ther living, and exercising trad in those parts; by designing out congruente porcions arising in tithes, oblations, & other things ther, according to your sound discretions, in politicall & civill causes; and by haveing y^e advise of 2. or 3. bishops, for y^e settling, making, & ordering of y^e bussines, for y^e designeing of necessary ecclesiasticall, and clergie porcions, which you shall cause to be called, and taken to you. And to make provission against y^e violation of those laws, constitutions, and ordinances, by imposing penealties & mullets, imprisonmente if ther be cause, and y^t y^e quality of y^e offence doe require it, by deprivation

of member, or life, to be inflicted. With power also (our assente being had) to remove, & displace y^e governours or rulers of those collonies, for causes which to you shall seeme lawfull, and others in their stead to constitute; and require an accounte of their rule & govermente, and whom you shall finde culpable; either by deprivation from their place, or by imposition of a mulete upon y^e goods of them in those parts to be levied, or banishmente from those provinces in w^{ch} they have been gov^er or otherwise to cashier according to y^e quantity of y^e offence. And to constitute judges, & magistrats politicall & civill, for civill causes and under y^e power and forme, which to you 5. or more of you shall seeme expediente. And judges & magistrats & dignities, to causes Ecclesiasticall, and under y^e power & forme which to you 5. or more of you, with the bishops vicererents (provided by y^e Archbishop of Counterbure for y^e time being), shall seeme expediente; and to ordaine courts, pretoriane and tribunall, as well ecclesiasticall, as civill, of judgments; to detirmine of y^e formes and maner of proceedings in y^e same; and of appealing from them in matters & causes as well criminall, as civill, personall, reale, and mixte, and to their seats of justice, what may be equall & well ordered, and what crimes, faults, or exsesses, of contracts or injuries ought to belonge to y^e Ecclesiasticall courte, and what to y^e civill courte, and seate of justice.

Provided never y^e less, y^t the laws, ordinances, & constitutions of this kinde, shall not be put in execution, before our assent be had therunto in writing under our signet, signed at least, and this assente being had, and y^e same publikly proclaimed in y^e provinces in which they are to be executed, we will & comānd y^t those lawes, ordinances, and constitutions more to obtaine strength and be observed * shall be inviolably of all men whom they shall concerne.

Notwithstanding it shall be for you, or any 5. or more of you, (as is afforsaid,) allthoug those lawes, constitutions, and ordinances shalbe proclaimed with our royall assente, to chainge, revocke, & abrogate them, and other new ones, in forme afforsaid, from time to time frame and make as affloresaid; and to new evils arissing, or new dangers, to apply new remedies as is fitting, so often as to you it shall seeme expediente. Further-

* A superfluous *and* comes after "observed" in the manuscript. — Ed.

more you shall understand that we have constituted you, and every 5. or more of you, the afforesaid Archbishop of Counterburie, Thomas Lord Coventrie, Keeper of y^e Great Seale of England, Richard, Bishop of Yorke, Richard, Earle of Portland, Henery, Earle of Manchester, Thomas, Earle of Arundale & Surry, Edward, Earell of Dorsett, Francis Lord Cottinton, S^r Thomas Edmonds,* knight, S^r Henry Vane, knight, S^r Francis Windebanke, knight,† our comissioners to hear, & determine, according to your sound discretions, all maner of complaints either against those collonies, or their rulers, or govenours, at y^e instance of y^e parties greeved, or at their accusation brought concerning injuries from hence, or from thence, betweene them, & their members to be moved, and to call y^r parties before you; and to the parties or to their procurators, from hence, or from thence being heard y^e full complemente of justice to be exhibited. Giving unto you, or any 5. or more of you power, y^t if you shall find any of y^e collonies afforesaid, or any of y^e cheefe rulers upon y^e jurisdictions of others by unjust possession, or usurpation, or one against another making greevance, or in rebellion against us, or withdrawing from our alegance, or our comandiments, not obeying, consultation first with us in y^t case had, to cause those colonies, or y^e rulers of them, for y^e causes afforesaid, or for other just causes, either to returne to England, or to comand them to other places designed, even as according to your sounde discretions it shall seeme to stand with equitie, & justice, or necessitie. Moreover, we doe give unto you, & any 5. or more of you, power & spetiall comānd over all y^e charters, leters patents, and rescripts royall, of y^e regions, provinces, ilands, or lands in foraigne parts, granted for raising colonies, to cause them to be brought before you, & y^e same being received, if any thing surrepticiously or unduly have been obtained, or y^t by the same priviledges, liberties, & prerogatives hurtfull to us, or to our crowne, or to foraigne princes, have been prejudicially suffered, or granted; the same being better made knowne unto you 5. or more of you, to comānd them according to y^e laws and customs of England to be revoked, and to doe such other things, which to y^e profite & safgard of y^e afforesaid collonies, and of our subjects residente in y^e same, shall be necessary.

* *Edwards* in the manuscript. — Ed.

† Sir John Cooke is here omitted in the enumeration. — Ed.

And therefore we doe comānd you that aboute y^e premisses at days & times, which for these things you shall make provission, that you be diligente in attendance, as it becometh you; giving in precepte also, & firmly injoyning, we doe give comānd to all and singuler cheefe rulers of provinces into which y^e colonies aforesaid have been drawne, or shall be drawne, & give atendance upon you, and be observante and obediente unto your warrants in perill. In testimonney wherof, we have caused these our letters to be made pattente. Wittnes our selfe at Westminster the 2S. day of Aprill, in y^e tenth year of our Raigne.

By write from y^e privie seale,

WILLIES.

Anno Dom: 1634.

No. III.

Upon the life and death of that godly mātrōn, Mistris Alice Bradford, widdow, late deccased on the 27th day of March, Ann^o: Dom: 1670, and was interred at Plymouth on the 30th of the same month.*

Heer lyes the shaddow of a blessed mother
In Israel, well knowne to one and other,
Of good decent of holy predecessors;
Her father equall was to the confessors
And holy martires, suffered for Christ sake,
Altho hee suffered not at fiery stake,
And shee with him and other in her youth
Left theire owne native country for the truth,†

* These verses on Mrs. Bradford are pasted inside the cover which incloses the original History of the Governor. Mr. Hunter writes that they are a good deal decayed or injured; that the last four lines are not easily read. From the last line but one, it may be inferred that Morton was the author. — Ed.

† In the Plymouth Church Records, under date of March 19–20, 1667, is a record of the death, at Plymouth, of

“Mary Carpenter, sister of Mrs. Alice Bradford, the wife of Governor Bradford, being newly entered into the 91st year of her age. She was a godly old maid, never married.” From this Dr. Young naturally infers that the maiden name of Mrs. Bradford was Carpenter. Mr. Hunter says: “We do not trace families of that name in Basset-Lawe. She might be a half-sister.” See Young, p. 353; Hunter’s Founders,

And in successe of time she marryed was
 To one whose grace and vertue did surpasse,
 I mean good Edward Southworth,* whoe not long
 Continued in this world the saints amonge.
 With him shee lived seven years a wife,
 Till death did put a period to his life.
 And in some space of time, by Gods good hand,
 Shee was brought over into New England,
 And in short time the Lord did soe dispose,
 That Mr. William Bradford shee did choose
 To be her second husband;† whom to fame
 I need not, for it is enough to name
 The name of Bradford fresh in memory,
 Which smeles with odoriforus fragrancye.
 With him shee lived a wife yeares thirty four,
 Till God saw good his time should be noe more
 In this sad world, but tooke him hence to heaven,
 Ann^o one thousand six hundred fifty seven.
 E'r since that time in widdowhood shee hath
 Lived a life in holynes and faith,
 In reading of Gods word and contemplation,
 Which healed her to asurance of salvation
 Through Gods good sperit workeing with the same,
 For ever praised be his holy name.
 To about fourscore yeares shee did attaine,
 But shee afflicted much with heavy paine;
 As Moses saith, her strength but sorrow was,
 And shee to eternall rest made hast apace.
 Shee now with holy Abram hath attained
 A good old age. Her life was never stained
 With any sin that any one could call
 Remarkable, notorious, capitall,
 But contrarywise shee lived soe
 As silence might the most malignant foe
 She had, or any other that professe
 The waies of Christ and of just rightcousnes.

&c., 2d ed. p. 119. She and her father may have been of the Serooby church, and emigrated with it into Holland. She was then seventeen or eighteen years of age. — Ed.

* See page 72. — Ed.

† She came in the Anne, about the 1st of August, 1623, and was married to Governor Bradford on the 14th of that month. See pages 71, 142. — Ed.

Tis sad to see our houses disposessd
Of holy saints whose memory is blessd ;
When they decease and closed are in tombe,
Theres few or none that rises in their rome
That's like to them in holines and grace,
Which makes our times looke with so sad a face.
Her glasse is run, her worke is done, and shee
Is happy unto all eternity.
Lett her relations all and every one .
Take her example, doe as shee hath done,
In love to God his waies and one another.
Then they will well improve theire blessed mother
Her holy, blessed, heavenly example,
That gives a gracious presedent soe ample
To them and unto all both one and other
That follow may after this blessed mother.
Ile multiply noe more words but ab...e
That I dare use concerning her dear...e
Adoe, my loving freind, my aunt, my mother,
Of those that's left I have not such another.

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NOTE.

Page 131, note †. The citations here made are not from Pratt's narrative direct, but from Felt's Ecclesiastical History, which is referred to at the foot of the note. A copy of Pratt's narrative was used by Mr. Felt while preparing his book.

Page 141, note *. The date of Captain Squib's commission should be Nov. 22d.

Page 315. The Assistants for 1634 are taken, as will be seen, from Morton's Memorial; but the names here do not wholly agree with those given in the Old Colony Records. Allerton's name there appears, while the names of Standish and Collier do not.

Page 377, note *. For "Edward Freeman," read "*Edmund Freeman.*"

Ed.

